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JOB IN THE CHURCH.

WEEK succeeds to week, and no sooner have we taken leave of one job—if we may use so harsh and disagreeable a name—than we are introduced abruptly to another. It is not in the power of Mr. Gore and the friends of the Duke of Buccleuch to rivet public attention long, job they never so fiercely. Some cynical Diogenes soon discovers fresh offenders who are sinning against the laws of the Immaculate Goddess of Public Virtue as flagrantly, and yet as coolly as the guardians of the interests of the House of Montagu themselves. The pencil of a Hogarth would be required to depict the reign of graceful and virtuous corruption as it presents itself to the eye of those restless and disaffected persons who are for ever prying below the surface of things. To-day it is a board of illustrious electors in the innocence of their hearts presenting a University professorship to some industrious sea captain, who has been recommended to them by an old gentleman of spotless integrity; who has been consulting the most spiritually minded of bishops; who, in his turn, has been much struck by the ultra-marine orthodoxy of the favourite of Neptune and of the Muses. To-morrow it will be the United Benchers of some Inn of Court—all combining to do honour to the least competent candidate in the field. Here a Lord Chancellor would be discovered appointing a son to a lucrative sinecure in some Court of Justice with which the young gentleman had unhappily been only too familiar in his past career. There might be seen some venerable episcopal hen catering with wise activity for her chickens and her chickens-in-law in the precincts of the Church and chapter-house. The back-ground of the motley scene might be filled in from the everyday transactions of every profession and of every social grade. Recorderships, tide-waiterships, clerkships, consulships, canonries, vicarages, all are given away, like the daily dole in the time of imperial Rome, from the table of the patron who is fortunate enough to have them to give. The best things in this world beyond a doubt fall to the lot of genius and ability. But with Christian punctuality we fulfil the precepts of the Apostle, and, having been lifted to the place of honour ourselves, we first provide for those of our own household.

The little family transaction in the diocese of Salisbury from which the curtain has this week been lifted, is one of that sort which is found in great variety and plentiful luxuriance in cathedral towns—growing vigorously, like rank grass, round the walls of the sacred edifice itself. That the near relations of a bishop should be raised to places of dignity and emolument is so natural a thing that we cease almost to wonder at it; and the future patronage of a prosperous divine is one of those things which are understood to be tacitly included in the marriage settlements of his sisters and his daughters. The ill-paid and poor clergyman who, after thirty years of hard work in squalid and pestiferous parishes, finds himself still enjoying the pittance of some hundred and fifty pounds, with the annexed privilege of dining yearly with his bishop, may feel, perhaps, such envy as clerical minds are capable of feeling at the sight of the mushroom wealth and dignity of the younger sons of the episcopal house. But his meek indignation is not of so much consequence. His heart tells him that it is human to job; and conscience, perhaps, reminds him that if some fine morning he were suddenly to wake up and find himself in lawn, his first episcopal act would possibly be to job himself. The real objection to the system is not the individual injustice

done in this or that case to some deserving or half-despairing curate or country rector. The evil done is of a wider and more lasting kind. The hearts of all hard-working clergymen may well faint within them when they see instance after instance proving the rule that promotion in the clerical world to a moderate competency seldom follows on pure merit. In most professions, in the most miserable trade, hard labour and honesty end usually by placing their possessor in a position above the level of absolute distress. The world knows, and young men early learn to know, that it is not so in the Church. The patronage of the Church consists exclusively of family preserves. That the things of God should not be given to Cæsar is a law which bishops and prebendaries most strictly and rigidly expound. The reason, perhaps, partly is that the things of God are wanted for the little Pompeys. Such a system is a heavy blow and a great discouragement to those ministers of the Establishment who have not influential friends, and who are not anxious to dangle at the heels of bishops and of patrons. Still worse—it is a great disgrace and opprobrium to the cause of religion in the eyes of those who have not candour or sense enough to distinguish the faults of the English Church from the faults of the Bench of Bishops.

The Bishop of Salisbury, though he is a fervent defender of the faith and a vigilant prosecutor of heresy, is, after all, but mortal; and, till Astrea returns and the Bench of Bishops are changed into elderly angels, none of their number will be certain to be above the weakness of looking after the interests of a brother-in-law. Nor can we be astonished that a canonry in the disposal of the dean and chapter should be bestowed on a gentleman who is not merely a brother-in-law of the Bishop, but has also been happy enough to secure in marriage a daughter of one of the resident canons. Those who expect to get, must also be prepared to give. He who giveth to the poor, says the sacred text, lendeth to the Lord. The canon who giveth to a bishop's son-in-law lendeth, we may be certain, to his Lordship. In this particular instance his Lordship has not long lain under the sacred obligation by which he was bound. The resident canon in question has a son, who was ordained a few weeks ago. A living has suddenly fallen vacant and been bestowed by the canon, in a moment of venial parental weakness, on the son in question. By the rules of the Church, until he is a priest the son cannot hold it, and decency would, in the ordinary course of things, forbid his passing, *per saltum*, from the order of deacons to a priest's degree. With the sanction of the grateful bishop of the diocese, this obstacle is to be overlooked. The Bishop of Oxford appears on the stage as the *Deus ex machinâ* who is to cut the knot. He is prepared to hurry the young gentleman over his spiritual probation; and the Bishop of Salisbury, during the process of this episcopal feat, has kindly intimated his intention of closing his venerable eyes. We do not know by what recipe or in what ecclesiastical hothouse the Bishop of Oxford, who is a skilful operator, proposes to accomplish the task of ripening, all at once, the chrysalis deacon into the full-blown priestly butterfly. Sons of canons, perhaps, expand and bloom more quickly than other men, especially the sons of canons who are connected by marriage with the Bench. But it is a little curious that the two prelates who are to superintend the forcing of the recent bachelor of arts should be two bulwarks of the Church. We think that some of their admirers will open their eyes at the intelligence. These be thy gods, O Israel! These are the two prelates by whom, during the last year, orthodoxy has been chiefly strengthened, fortified, and consoled.

The recent judgment of Dr. Lushington has shown in what points the famous "Essays and Reviews" are contrary to the established interests of the Anglican faith as they are understood by the Legislature. The sees of Oxford and Salisbury have been conspicuous in prosecuting the inquiry to a conclusion. It is not our business to inquire in what respects Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson are dangerous and heretical. But the deadliest heresy does less harm to the true faith than is wrought by bishops who prostitute their sacred office by presiding, in all their episcopal robes, at the incubation of a job; and who are prepared to relax the most necessary rules, and to hurry the most solemn ceremonies of the ministry for the purpose of gratifying an old friend.

These things have been done in the green tree and not in the dry. The dioceses of Oxford and Salisbury are supposed to be regulated upon the most approved principles, and clerical life and manners throughout their length and breadth flourish under the close supervision of the See. We are bound to assume that what has taken place is according to the newest episcopal fashion, and in close conformity with the latest discoveries of rubrical Anglicanism. The shade of the late Dr. Villiers may be said to be avenged. Jobs, then, are not the exclusive occupation of any one section of the Establishment. Scarcely a month has passed since the Bishop of Oxford took upon him to preside at a great Church Convocation. Laymen and clergymen from all parts of England were convened to discuss the interests of religion and of orthodoxy. Next year, when the Convocation reunites, it is to be hoped that some member of the decorous assembly will point out to their chairman that he, and the rest of his brother bishops, can in no way serve the Church so well as by abstaining from the transactions on which we have commented. It is better to hold to what Sidney Smith calls "a lean and jobless faith," than to be the glorified patron of a hundred sisterhoods of mercy. Silver speech is much, but souls above the suspicion of episcopal intrigue are more. Nor perhaps will the Bishop of Oxford hesitate to explain the terms on which he thinks right, on fit occasion, to dispense with the years' interval between the diaconate and the priesthood. Is the privilege confined to the connections of the Bishop of Salisbury, or may any canon who marries his daughter to a bishop's brother-in-law hope for a like exemption for his sons when they are in a hurry for a living? If so, the advantage which a canon possesses in having marriageable daughters is still greater than it has hitherto been. Happy is the canon who has his quiver full of them. He shall not be ashamed when he meets his bishop in the gate.

Even if the indefatigable "S. G. O." had not unearthed the story, it is not to be supposed that the family arrangement in question would have been productive of no harm. These are the stories that dispirit one half of the poorer clergy, and that corrupt the other half. These are the stories that make the bishop's palace the centre of eager and undignified longings, of petty intrigues, of provincial courtiers and clerical flatterers,—that undermine the character and the independence of clergymen. The rustic rector who goes up to his diocesan's dinner table about as often and as anxiously as the tribes went up to Jerusalem, sets off to visit the fountain of preferment each time with a little fluttering at his heart. He worships at a becoming distance the daughters of the House. He is blandly fulsome to the sons-in-law. He adores openly the giver of all good preferment, as the clients of Juvenal's time adored their princely patron. Year after year passes, and he goes back to his frugal parsonage a sadder but not a wiser man. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. Still he hopes against hope, that one at least of the rich windfalls that descend upon the connections of the episcopal family, will fall a little further from the palace, and in the direction of his own home. Why do the clergy of the various dioceses not speak out on the many occasions on which their bishop professes to represent them, and on which they in their hearts know that they are not on his side? The truth is that they have been taught to be courtiers and sycophants in his presence. Their worldly fortunes depend not on their industry or piety so much as on his favour. They cannot be blind to what is indisputably true. The sincerity and guilelessness of the clergy suffer, but the glory of the Bench is exalted. It is time that this state of things should be altered. It is too much to expect apostolic simplicity from the Bench. But all true lovers of the Church cannot but be concerned at the system of which we now and then obtain glimpses, through such revelations as those of which "S. G. O." has recently furnished us with an example.

THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

THE fish-dinner has been eaten. The session of 1862 is drawing to a close. It was ushered in without much promise and will be dismissed with little regret. It has added but little to the stock of human knowledge and ministered not much to the sum of human happiness. It may be that of all that men endure the part is small which laws can cure. But, such as they are, the Parliament of 1862 has left them pretty well to take care of themselves. The statute-book will have added nothing to the annals of practical legislation but a doubtful experiment in conveyancing. The finances of the

country are left upon a basis of somewhat unstable equilibrium. The Government may be said to have been dull and the Opposition generally unenterprising. The session of 1862 has been as it were a sort of provisional session. The Treasury Bench has been indisposed to provoke the Opposition Benches, and the Opposition has been disinclined to distrust the Government. The mourning of the Queen, the International Exhibition, and the American civil war have been the excuses, if not the causes, of a sort of political truce. This is, however, a state of things which it is neither possible nor desirable to prolong. Its effect is to destroy that wholesome political vitality which party spirit promotes, and to engender a lassitude which creates a condition of public torpor and indifference.

The session of 1862 opened sufficiently conspicuously for the Government which had just settled the quarrel of the *Trent* on a satisfactory footing. Since that time the House of Commons—we might almost say all Europe—has stood still to watch the "horrible and heart-rending" struggle in America. Questions, domestic and foreign, alike have seemed to pause for their solution, till this conflict is brought to a conclusion. After the tremendous changes to which the results of the last few years have accustomed us, it seems strange to find Italy, Germany, and Russia, resting quietly on the *status quo*. Even the train of France is for a moment fain to stay the revolution of its wheel. All this has made it pretty fine-weather sailing for the English Government. A few fine speeches about Italy, an occasional panegyric on the French Emperor, renewed declarations of neutrality in America, were all that was required to oil the wheels and to keep the gearing of the machine of the State in good order.

But this negative tranquillity is not likely to last very much longer. Already the elements of the coming storm may be seen brewing in the atmosphere. As regards foreign affairs it is not likely that the unsettled problem of Rome and of Venice will await much longer in patience the desired solution. It is pretty certain that before the winter is over Garibaldi will manage to force the hand of the Emperor of the French—with what results to the peace of Europe remains to be seen. The aspect of the American affairs grows blacker as the chances of an early settlement seem indefinitely postponed. We cannot agree with those political reasoners who seem to be of opinion that the matter is more likely to be concluded in proportion as the victory of either side becomes more impossible. It is a new view of the results of war to expect peace as the natural consequence of drawn battles. If this were so it is difficult to understand why the allies did not make peace immediately after Inkermann and withdraw from Sebastopol because they despaired of conquering the continent of Russia. In order that the great end of peace may be obtained it is indispensable that a decisive success should be secured to one or other of the belligerents. It is because we do not believe that this decisive success can ultimately end with the South that we have desired the early triumph of the Northern arms. And it is because the discomfiture of McClellan's army seems to have removed the hopes of this final issue to an indefinite distance that we can see no hopes of any improvement in the present condition of affairs. A chronic state of civil war, raging in the Border States, appears to be the only prospect in store for the ensuing twelvemonths.

But the calamity which awaits ourselves is unhappily too clear for speculation or conjecture. The lee-shore of famine and distress on which we are drifting looms high and clear before us. Cotton is being paid out by dribblets as the water is served out on the raft to a shipwrecked crew. But the limits of the supply are known, the period of absolute cessation is not far distant. In addition to the want of employment there is unhappily every prospect that the price of the necessities of life will be grievously enhanced. The last fortnight of fine weather has, no doubt, done much for us, but for a great part of the country the change has come too late, and it is generally known that the wheat crop will be short. It is not believed that the harvest of France will have any superfluity at our disposal, while the same causes which have destroyed the cotton crops of America will deprive us of our ordinary reserve of "bread-stuffs." A nation which sustains half a million of fighting men and idlers in the camp will not have much food at the disposal of its neighbours. The general paralysis of trade in all its departments consequent on the closing of the greatest market of the world must be expected to continue in an aggravated state. In this state of things the temper of the people and the strength of our institutions will be subject to a strain which they have not experienced even in the days of 1848. Justly or unjustly a half-informed and suffering population will hold its rulers responsible for the evils under which it groans. The people, it is true, in this country, do not habitually convert the Government into a special Providence, as in France, where *l'autorité* is the source of all good, and still more of all evil. Nevertheless "the flesh will quiver when the pincers nip," and popular suffering will find its expression in popular discontent. When the trials of 1848 overtook us it was fortunate that the repeal of the Corn Laws had just given a solid assurance to the people of the disposition of Parliament and of the Government to consult their interests and promote their welfare. The late Sir Robert Peel used

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to console himself for the bitter hostility of which he was the object by the reflection that he had made the vessel of the State snug just in time before the storm burst down upon her. We wish that a prudence more resembling that of Sir Robert Peel had recently presided over our affairs. In the piping days of prosperity the Carlton and Brookes's vie with one another in genteel sneers at Reform; but the day may come when these political Sadducees will wish that they had not been quite so successful in jockeying the question of the franchise. For our part we cannot but regard with a very unpleasant feeling of uneasiness the fact that the unenfranchised classes, after they had received from all parties in the State a solemn pledge of an enlargement of the franchise, have been, upon one pretence or another, deliberately denied that which they had a clear right to expect. No good ever has or can come of a political juggle of this sort, and in some fashion or other a day of reckoning for it must and will come. If Lord Derby had had the honesty, and Lord Russell had had the courage, to settle the question of Reform when it might have been settled quietly, we confess we should look with much less apprehension to the trial which too evidently awaits us. The people in their distress would have been more likely to place trust in a Parliament and a Government which had shown a disposition to place confidence in them. They would have been more disposed to feel that whatever they might be called upon to bear, at least they could impute none of the blame to their laws or to their lawgivers. We could wish that the Parliament of 1862 had occupied itself a little more with popular measures, and a little less with the somewhat doubtful trade of game preserving.

Before Parliament meets again, both the people and the Government will have had to pass through a severe ordeal. No doubt, the present Administration is that which on the whole commands the largest amount of public confidence. From the circumstances of the time the question of Government has become one rather of men than of measures. In the critical state of our foreign relations the tried experience and ready resource of Lord Palmerston are regarded with more reliance than could be accorded to any other man. Nevertheless it is not to be denied that, in the course of the present session Lord Palmerston has committed numerous faults. He seems to have caught, by a sort of infection of antagonism, from Messrs. Bright and Cobden, a share of their sectarian bitterness. The easy triumph which he won over Mr. Disraeli's foolish and factious combination seems to have turned his head. There is a drop of Hibernian blood in the veins of Lord Palmerston which makes him incapable of bearing the intoxication of success. In times of difficulty and of danger no man displays more adroitness and self-control. But when he once feels secure he rollicks with all the insolence of security, and brandishes his shillelagh with his foot on the throat of his enemy. An assembly which, like the House of Commons, is at once sensitive and proud, will not stand the sort of treatment to which its leader has recently treated it. Lord Palmerston seems to have grown too old to learn the lessons which experience might have taught him. When he was last expelled from office he suffered the Nemesis of an overweening arrogance. He appears now to be bringing upon his Administration the same doom. The insolence of his language to Mr. Cobden has been already the subject of universal reprobation. His wanton and unjust attack upon the manufacturers, as a class, cost him, on Wednesday last, a humiliating and damaging defeat. His personal ill-treatment of the House of Commons has done much to sow discontent and anger in the heart of the party which he professes to lead. These are things which rankle long in the minds of men, and are not lightly forgotten or forgiven. Of all the persons who have reason to congratulate themselves on the close of the session, there is none whom its termination can profit so much as Lord Palmerston. Nothing but the fall of the curtain could save him from the fall with which his own arrogance has menaced him. It is much to be hoped that he may meet the House of Commons of 1863 a soberer and a wiser Minister.

MANUFACTURING DISTRESS.

THE human faculty of looking before and after should not be hastily ascribed to the House of Commons. Judging from the events of the last two or three weeks, we might altogether deny it the possession of foresight. The amazing complacency which persists in passing the Night Poaching Bill, in spite of the warnings of the best men on all sides, is only paralleled by the fact that ten days before the end of the session the modes of dealing with the distress in the cotton districts began to be discussed. It is, indeed, impossible not to blame the Government as much, if not more, than the House, for their negligence in this matter. Six months since the present distress might have been foreseen as inevitable; temporary devices were adopted, but their end was plainly at hand. Nothing has happened to precipitate the distress; nothing could have happened to prevent it, except such a termination of the war in America as no one believed possible, still less could rely upon. It is a grave scandal on the conduct of public business, that the time of deliberation should

be so short that members are forced to take counsel with their constituents by means of the electric telegraph. It was a needless aggravation of the irony of life, that the division on the Union Relief Bill should immediately precede the Ministerial dinner at Greenwich.

The discussions which have already taken place in the House of Commons make us doubly regret the delay in introducing the subject. In debating the question the House has excellently discharged its functions, and as the Government has acquiesced in change after change, we might hope that a little more deliberation would have produced the best possible measure for meeting the difficulty. Uncertain as many facts still are, much vagueness has been dispelled, and several fallacies have been exposed in the course of the past week. Mr. Henley uttered the opinion of many others when he argued from the present rates against the severity of the crisis; but his usual acuteness seemed to have deserted him, since, as Mr. Cobden pointed out in his admirable rejoinder, a comparison of rates is worthless where the rate-payers themselves are disabled. If the ability of the rate-payer be lessened one half, doubling the rates quadruples his burden. The weight which a man in health could easily carry would be intolerable after he had been laid up a week with fever.

Mr. Potter estimates that there are 450,000 operatives directly engaged in the cotton manufacture, of whom 80,000 are wholly unemployed, and the remainder half-employed, making a consequent weekly loss of wages of £139,000. Besides these numbers there are 200,000 persons engaged in other branches of business dependent on the cotton trade. The numbers are possibly exaggerated, but they serve to bring out the real questions of debate,—the primary one, how these people are, to be fed; and the secondary questions, answers to which are necessary to the solution of the first, how long will the burden last, and can we expect it to be diminished, or must we look for an increase? It may, however, be true that in ordering, on Wednesday last, the Relief Bill to be recommitted, for the purpose of inserting clauses enabling the boards of guardians to borrow money, the House of Commons rather decided that the whole question was one for the determination of the local authorities. It is probable that the majority were by no means unanimous in wishing loans to be raised, but they felt that the tribunals before which the question could most properly be argued were in Lancashire and Cheshire. Much might be said in favour of this view; the Poor Law Board has never wholly superseded local self-government; on the other hand, as it is clear that the State will be the creditor to supply the funds, the House of Commons might not unjustly have refused to concede the powers of borrowing. If the boards of guardians effected their loans in open market it is difficult to see on what principle their action could be checked; but the recommitment of the Relief Bill, though in form a concession of a borrowing power, was, in fact, an agreement to lend. The examples of Ireland and of Jamaica show the extreme ease with which the obligation of a loan is forgotten; a new generation soon arises which, unconscious of having received a benefit, feels very acutely its burdens.

Although the House of Commons may have pledged itself to lend the boards of guardians money as well as to give them the advantages of a rate in aid, the question is still important for the local boards whether they will avail themselves of the power of borrowing, and for this purpose they will do well to consider the probable duration of the present distress. Short of the termination of the American war, it seems pretty clear that the misery cannot for some considerable time be materially alleviated. Some persons speak and write as if the use of American cotton had been a mere freak of fashion; if it cannot be obtained, other kinds or other materials must and will be substituted, and the world will go on as before. People must be clothed, if not in American cotton, then in Indian; if not in cotton at all, then in woollens. But, in truth, so far from the production of the necessities of life being a consequence of the existence of consumers, consumers themselves are a consequence of the cheapness of the necessities of life. The population of Lancashire has grown to its present numbers because cotton could be purchased cheaply in the States, and then manufactured into goods which commanded a market throughout the world. By means of the international division of labour a sufficiency was produced of food and clothing to sustain each branch of industry; but a great section of the work is suddenly stopped, nor can any substitute of equal efficiency be possibly provided. Till the American war ceases a burden must remain; nor can we look for much alleviation of it. On the one hand, the consumption of the small stock on hand, and the exhaustion of the savings of the workmen, tend to make the distress more severe, and, on the other side, the expedients, such as they are, to procure cotton elsewhere, and to use the unemployed labour in other occupations, require time for their development. It is also, perhaps, not unimportant to remark that the cessation of the war would not permanently restore us to our old position. The four millions of bales of cotton which Mr. Cobden says are in the States would doubtless soon find their way hither, but the States themselves cannot so easily resume their functions as cheap producers. The four or five hundred millions of property which at the least will have been

destroyed, and the standing army which will too probably be kept up, must, irrespective of their protective fiscal arrangements, terribly cripple their industry.

Looking at the possible prolongation of the American war, the exhausted condition in which it must leave the contending parties, the necessary interval which must elapse before any great development of other resources can take place, and the inevitable deterioration of the productiveness of industry which must ensue, it is to be hoped that the union guardians will only use their borrowing powers in a last extremity. As far as the decision of the House can be understood to signify a preference for loans, it is noteworthy how intimately it is bound up with the hope of a speedy termination of the American war. Mr. J. B. Smith and Mr. Cobden, members of the same school, arrived at nearly opposite results; but the member for Stockport opposed the adoption of loans because he thought the war would not soon cease, and the distress must endure; the member for Rochdale, on the other hand, was more sanguine. Mr. Cobden's conclusion is the more grateful to all men; but we must remember that one of his most striking characteristics is that, like "noble natures," he is "easily credulous." Mr. Cobden's suggestion that Boards of Guardians might lend money to those in distress instead of granting them weekly relief, is worth attention; it has always been done to some extent, and unlike the borrowing powers, requires no Act of Parliament for its sanction; but it is evident that such a course requires the greatest discretion, nor would it be always kind to the operatives themselves to burden them with future indebtedness. At a meeting of operatives at Manchester last Monday, we are told, they unanimously resolved that grants ought to be made from the Consolidated Fund, to be sent to the several distressed districts in proportion to their population, and there distributed by local committees; but no mention is made of repayment, and it is evident that gifts, not loans, were contemplated by the workmen.

Could a national grant be economically distributed, it might, perhaps, be preferable to loans and to rates in aid; the pressure, distributed over the whole of the community, would not be severe, whilst we should avoid the alternative of crippling parishes with loads of debt, or of inflicting on them the injustice of a rate in aid. In resorting to the principle of the Act of Elizabeth, the Government was probably actuated as much by a love of precedent as by a horror of debt; the fact that a rate in aid brings all the anomalies of our poor-rates into disagreeable prominence, seems to have been disregarded. The justice of the taxes for the support of the poor can only be upheld when they are steady in amount and fall upon property of nearly the same character. Writers on the incidence of taxation have conclusively shown that taxes on houses are ultimately borne by the occupier, whilst taxes on land are borne by the owner. In a parish where the rateable property consists mostly of houses, the poor-rate falls with great fairness, as the rent of a house is a tolerably accurate measure of the means of the occupier; but rates on land form part of the accepted and traditional burdens of property. Between parish and parish, unequally rated, fairness is only obtained by counterbalancing rates of profits. If, in a system of parishes presenting an equilibrium of taxation, we suddenly introduce a large increase of rate, the rate may continue to press equally on the occupiers of houses, but will be most unjust to all farmers. A farmer accepts a tenancy at a fixed rental, in determining which a consideration of the average rates is a main element; nor is it easy to exaggerate the burden or the unfairness of a tax which might suddenly rise from sixpence to five shillings in the pound on his assessed rental. The farmers of Lancashire and Cheshire have not enjoyed unusual profits, as the advantage of good markets has naturally told in the increase of rent; but unless their landlords voluntarily accept the burden, a rate in aid would impose a heavy tax upon them. The distress in the cotton districts may serve indirectly to increase the cry for the equalization of the poor-rates.

On the whole, the House of Commons was certainly wise in leaving to the boards of guardians a discretion as to the course they should adopt. The events of the war during the autumn may warrant them in incurring debt, or may render such a proceeding wholly unjustifiable; but unless Parliament itself chooses to have an autumn sitting, it must trust in the wisdom of Lancashire, assisted by the advice of the Poor Law Board.

THE MEXICAN NEWS.

THE situation of the French expedition in Mexico was not perceptibly changed at the date of the last despatches. The most important event since the previous mail had been the offer of honourable capitulation made to and refused by General Lorenz. The day after the brief and fruitless negotiation, Zaragoza prepared to attack Orizaba, behind the walls of which the French division has been entrenched since its retreat from the plain of Anahuac. The town lies, as we have explained, on the sloping ground leading from the top of the Pass of Aculzingo, to the lowlands of Vera Cruz. The main road from Vera Cruz itself to the Pass runs through it. Further up, and nearer the Pass is Ingenio, where Zaragoza had established

his head-quarters; a small hamlet, so called from a factory, which was its most conspicuous feature at the time it received its name. From Ingenio the Mexican General despatched the overtures which have appeared in the French and English papers; and from Ingenio he began to move upon the French position as soon as he received the news of the rejection of his proposals. A Mexican regiment, under General Ortega, was detached to seize on a little hill immediately outside the town, and almost within musket-shot of the French outposts. Ortega carried out his orders successfully. The hill was taken or occupied on the 13th of June, and the morning of the 14th was to see a general attack on the small garrison of Lorenz.



The fate of the French army seemed imminent. The fortune of war, however, has once more rescued the French eagles from dishonour. On the night of the 13th, Ortega's detachment was surprised, cut to pieces, and driven pell-mell from its recently acquired ground. A panic seems to have communicated itself to the main body of the Mexicans. They retired in something very like disorder, and on the 14th of June, Zaragoza, instead of seeing his flag floating over the fortifications of Orizaba, found himself once more in his old camp at Ingenio. The next day it is reported that his troops were still so disorganized that he determined on making a still more retrograde movement with the view of putting the zigzag ascent of Aculzingo between himself and the enemy. If, indeed, it be true that the French were strong enough to follow him to Ingenio, and there to capture a large portion of his heavy artillery, so decided a retreat would be easily understood. Otherwise it remains partially unexplained. At the utmost the troops of General Lorenz cannot be estimated at more than five or six thousand men. At the least computation the Mexican numbers amount to fourteen or fifteen thousand. Something more than a mere repulse is therefore necessary to account for this movement of the entire force. It is more than probable that, whatever is left unexplained by the failure of the projected assault on Orizaba is due to the movements of the reactionary guerilla bands which Zaragoza is marching on Ingenio in the first instance left hanging on his rear. The hilly country to the south and south-west of the plain of Anahuac has been the stronghold of these persevering bodies from the first. They have twice, if not three times, been beaten at Atlixco, without, however, being crushed; and the two thousand who reached the French through the defiles of the Cordilleras, were but a portion of the number who originally were known to be at Matamoras. During Zaragoza's whole progress from La Puebla to St. Agustin del Palmar detachments of these marauders threatened the flanks of his army. His supplies are entirely drawn from the very tract of country which is most exposed to their raids; and though the main road between La Puebla and Aculzingo is kept open by the continual passage of reinforcements arriving from the capital, and by his own cavalry, he may have found it convenient for the present to take up a position in which he will be secure from annoyance both in front and in rear.

Little relief will be felt by the beleaguered French garrison at this retreat, unless, indeed, they have been fortunate enough to seize some of the heavier Mexican guns. We may readily believe that the troops of Zaragoza were not the enemy from which they had most to fear. We explained, some five or six weeks ago, that the real difficulty with which they would have to contend at Orizaba would be the difficulty of obtaining supplies. This turns out to be the case. The *tierra caliente* of Vera Cruz, so far from having risen to assist them at their first landing, as the Paris papers mendaciously asserted at the time, seems to be thoroughly hostile. Convoy after convoy has been intercepted on its way from the sea to Orizaba, and destroyed by active and armed partisans of Juarez, who, when they are pursued, find an impenetrable retreat in the fastnesses of the southern slope of the Cordilleras. There can be no question but that General Lorenz stands in considerable need, both of provisions and of the ordinary munitions of war. His urgent necessity explains the overtures which were made to him on the 12th of June by the Mexican Commander-in-Chief; and the courteous and almost hesitating tone of his reply. The French had not been beaten in the field, for the misadventure which befell them before La Puebla

can scarcely be considered as anything worse than a *coup manqué*. Yet this general receives with equanimity and without a show of indignation a calm proposal that he and his soldiers should capitulate, as a preliminary to a total evacuation of the country. There is but one explanation of so strange a circumstance: an explanation which the Paris press has naturally been careful not to suggest at all. The strong probability is that General Lorencez is in extreme want of supplies. We do not possess reliable information of the fight of the 13th and the 15th. But it is almost certain that this want has not been as yet removed.

That our allies are uncomfortably placed, between fever on the coast and a hostile army on the heights, is undeniable. Though the time that must elapse before they are permanently relieved will be considerable, each day brings them nearer to succour, and if they can hold out for a couple of months more, the Mexicans will have reason to repent their supineness and want of organization. Considering the state of the Mexican empire, the French have had worse fortune than they had any reason to anticipate. They have to thank their own ignorance of the feelings and wishes of Mexico for all their disappointments. Disaffection reigns throughout the whole country, even up to the very walls of the capital. Had they entered as the allies and friends of no party, with the single programme of exacting stable guarantees for the future conduct of the Executive, by this time they might possibly have been in Mexico. But Almonte, and a few reactionary Mexican priests, had gained a sinister influence at the Tuileries. Instead of appearing in the guise of friends to order only, the French troops landed as the partisans of the reactionary Catholic minority, to whose rapacity and cruelty one-half of the disorder is to be attributed. The result was as might have been predicted. The national feeling of the people—such as it is—was not with them, and Juarez has been supported by many whose good-will he had no reason to expect. Almonte at last has been dismissed—a miserable and disappointed Hippas—and the French political programme has certainly undergone modification. Nevertheless the most respectable Mexicans remain upon the side of the present Government. The merchants of the large towns have less to fear from men of the position of Ortega and Doblado, than from the bandits and ruffians who are led by Losada and Mejia. Degraded and ignorant, the peasantry of the interior are incapable of comprehending the merits of the contest, or of making a serious effort to assist either the French invaders or their own Executive. The only sincere friends to European intervention are to be found among the foreign residents in Mexico itself. The severe imposts levied upon capital, and the insecurity of life and property, lead them naturally to desire such a termination of the war as will secure at least the temporary interests of European residents. They cannot be said to be fair judges of the situation. The correspondents of the English press represent the opinions of this limited class alone. They are interested in drawing as dark a picture as possible of the state of anarchy into which the country is plunged. It is scarcely necessary to add that their statements, which are reproduced in the leading newspapers of the day, are to be received with the utmost reserve.

With ten thousand more men, General Lorencez would find little difficulty in marching directly upon Mexico, and possessing himself of the seat of Government. The Ministry of Juarez commands at present the capital, and the chief military roads. In the interior it is probably powerless altogether, except so far as the chiefs of the military hordes which infest the provinces have lent it their ephemeral allegiance. The French have erred, not so much in under-estimating the strength of the party now in power, as in supposing that there is anything in Mexico which can be aroused and brought to bear against it. It is said that the Emperor Napoleon speculated on a general rising in his favour. Whatever there has been of a rising has been on the contrary of a hostile nature. But in reality Mexico is not in that condition in which a general rising is possible at all. In the flush and fever of revolutionary enthusiasm, the Mexicans, years ago, were capable of a considerable effort. Continual dissension among themselves has rendered even the Liberal party languid and effete. They have neither a Catholic oligarchy to subvert, nor have they a distinct object, far less a settled policy. The nerve and energy of the entire empire have been weakened and depraved by anarchy and lawlessness. A military conqueror might lay them at his feet. But the weapons of political intrigue fall back blunted and harmless from a people who would sooner be conquered than engage in a sustained political conspiracy. The only genuine emotion of which the country is capable is that of a contagious panic. If Napoleon III. had known Mexico better, this is the sole national feeling he would have endeavoured to excite. The dribble of troops under General Lorencez are insufficient to strike terror into the least warlike population in the world; nor are the Mexicans cowards upon principle. They are fully equal to exhibiting a feminine rage and indignation, which, if the conflict is not seriously maintained, might pass even for courage. Unfortunately the handful of soldiers at Orizaba are too few to take advantage of these national characteristics which by this time they have doubtless discovered in their enemy.

Of the ultimate success of the French arms, should France choose

to pursue the enterprise she has begun, no sane man can doubt. The only dubious question is a military one, and has to do with little else beyond the fate of the small French detachment now shut up on the slopes of the Cordilleras. To those who are interested in their fortunes we may again point out what we have pointed out before—that all depends upon their power to hold out for a few weeks in an exceedingly dangerous position. When the French expedition has received substantial reinforcements, it will be safe, and safe for ever. In the interim their lot is a precarious one. Should Zaragoza by chance have lost his siege-train in the late rencontre, our anxiety would be lightened greatly. Unless this intelligence be true, General Lorencez has been probably far nearer capitulation than the Parisian public are allowed by their Government to suppose.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.

SIR CHARLES WOOD and his Council have recently come to a decision on a question which has long been the subject of controversy, and on which the most opposite opinions have been entertained by persons who have a thorough practical acquaintance with the financial and social position of India. The Secretary of State has authorized the Indian Government to extend the permanent settlement of the land revenue over the whole of India. This is without doubt the most important step which has been taken with reference to India, since the government of that country was transferred from the East India Company, and vested directly in the Crown. The tax upon land is the most important branch of revenue in India, more than half of its whole amount being derived from that source. The subject is therefore important, from the mere magnitude of the interest concerned, affecting as it does an annual revenue of about £20,000,000. It is to be further observed, that this large sum is not collected from a few great landowners, who are alone responsible for its payment, while the great mass of the cultivators have no direct dealings with the Government. In large districts of India the land revenue is collected from a vast number of small proprietors, each of whom possesses only a few fields. Any settlement of this question affects therefore the whole agricultural population of India, and its social and political bearings have an importance quite commensurate with its financial aspect. It has often been pointed out that the land revenue of India should not be regarded as a tax, but rather as the share of the produce to which the Government is entitled as joint proprietor of the soil. In India, as in other Eastern countries, the Government is considered as the joint proprietor with the ostensible landowner, and in that capacity claims a certain share of the net produce. This share has been commuted for a money payment, and the assessment thus made is fixed for a certain period, the length of which varies in different parts of India. Thus, in Bombay and the North West Provinces, the settlement is made for thirty years, while in Madras it has hitherto been made for very much shorter periods. At the expiration of those periods the rates of assessment are open to revision. The Government have now determined that the amount of the assessment shall henceforth be fixed in perpetuity. It is thus proposed gradually to extend the permanent settlement, which at present prevails only in Bengal, over the whole of India.

In considering the policy of this decision, two considerations mainly present themselves—the one financial, the other social. In the first place, it is probable that the increase of population, and the improvement of the means of communication in India, will in course of time increase the value of agricultural produce; and it is argued by those who are opposed to a permanent settlement, that the periodical revisions of the assessment afford an opportunity to the government of making a re-adjustment in accordance with the improved circumstances of the country, and thus largely increasing this important branch of the revenue. By making the settlement permanent, this hope of prospective gain is entirely surrendered, and the land revenue is rendered completely inelastic, and settled for ever at its present amount. The expenditure of the country will necessarily go on increasing, while the chief branch of the revenue, and that, too, the one which is most in accordance with native ideas, is fixed beyond the possibility of increase. On the other hand, it is contended that the settlement of the land assessment in perpetuity will give greater security and contentment to the native population, and that the cultivator will expend labour and capital on his land with greater confidence, when he is assured that the government will not increase its demand, but that he will himself enjoy the whole of the fruits of his labour. It is on the well-being and contentment of the people of the soil, say the advocates of a permanent settlement, that peace and order in India mainly depend, and no policy which does not tend to the improvement of their condition will, in the long run, prove advantageous to our rule. There is, therefore, on the one hand, a possible financial loss, on the other a certain political gain; and the opinions of persons on this subject will be decided by the estimates which they form of the respective weight to be attached to the financial and the social bearings of the question. It is due to Sir Charles Wood to say that the despatch in which the decision of the Home Government

is communicated to the Governor-General is a paper of considerable value, and contains a very able and complete discussion of the whole subject. It is the more necessary to make this acknowledgment in the present instance, inasmuch as some previous despatches criticised by him in the course of the past year have been unfavourably noticed in these columns. Sir Charles Wood has recently appeared in the character of an obstructive. He has opposed Indian progress rather than hastened it. There are cotton districts in want of roads, and there is money to spare in the Indian cash balances. Yet Sir Charles Wood, for reasons best known to himself, has refused to authorise part of the grant for public works which was made by the Indian Government. And the tone of Sir Charles Wood's financial despatches has lately been as much open to criticism as the obstructive policy which they ordered. Those who are in the habit of reading Indian Blue-books have not seldom been surprised at the tone in which the present Secretary of State sometimes addresses censures to the Indian Government—a tone which gave just umbrage to the Indian Government, among whom Lord Canning had, at least in the later years of his administration, all the respect and admiration due to a wise and successful ruler. All this seems to have been changed, and the present despatch is so little of a piece with those financial despatches to which allusion has been made, that we have some difficulty in attributing them to the same author. One would think, to borrow an illustration from Bentham, that some angel had been sowing wheat among the Secretary of State's tares.

This important decision has not been arrived at without very mature consideration. The subject has been before Sir Charles Wood and his Council since the publication by Lord Canning, at the close of last year, of his resolution relative to the sale of waste lands and the redemption of the land-tax. Even now the Council are not unanimous on the subject; and a Parliamentary Paper published concurrently with the despatch, contains the dissents recorded by those members of the Council who take the opposite view. Sir Charles Wood has, however, not only the strongest arguments, but the highest authorities on his side, and a perusal of the dissent of Mr. Mangles seems likely to strengthen the opinion that the majority of the Council have come to a right conclusion on the subject. In the first place the probable financial loss which will accrue from a permanent settlement is very much exaggerated. Sir John Lawrence gives it as the result of his experience that, as a rule, no increase worth consideration used to arise on the revision of assessments where an estate had been in the first instance fully cultivated. It would, of course, be otherwise when much of the land had been waste at the time when the assessment was made. In such a case there would probably be a considerable increase of the assessment at the expiration of a long lease. This is a very important consideration, and it is to be observed that a permanent settlement will not be immediately granted except in those districts where a considerable portion of the soil was already under cultivation when the existing settlements were made. In other districts, where a large proportion of the soil is still uncultivated, and where, therefore, the land-revenue has not reached what may be considered its prospective capabilities, the permanent settlement will not be made immediately.

It is somewhat remarkable that in all the revisions of assessment which have taken place in late years the tendency has been towards a reduction of the rates, and the Government appear to be justified in concluding that when the settlements have been carefully made in districts which were fully cultivated, the probability of any considerable increase of land revenue is very slight. Supposing, however, that the produce of the soil should hereafter become much more valuable than at present, and that the cultivator should reap the whole of the benefit of this improvement, while the share of the Government remains stationary under the permanent settlement, it is evident that the increasing wealth of the people would enable them to contribute to the revenue in other ways to an extent which might counterbalance the loss arising from the surrender of the prospective increase of that from land. The revenue which arises from the consumption of taxable articles depends directly on the means of the people and their power of purchasing. In one particular district which has been very completely supplied with works of irrigation, and where the land assessment has been moderate, the revenue arising from the consumption of such taxable articles has risen, in the course of ten years, nearly fifty per cent. To this it must be added that, by making a perpetual settlement, the expense of future surveys and assessments, which always cost a large sum, will be saved.

The political advantage, on the other hand, will be undoubted. A perpetual settlement, founded on a moderate assessment, will be advantageous to the great mass of the agricultural population, and, because it is advantageous, it will be popular. The cultivator, at present, fears, that if his land is improved, the Government demand will be increased, and this fear prevents a liberal outlay in its improvement. So much, indeed, does this idea act on the native mind, that as the period for revision approaches, "the agriculturists, with the view of evading a true estimate of the qualities of their lands, throw much land out of cultivation; they cease to grow their most profitable

kinds of crops; they allow wells and watercourses to deteriorate, and the like." It is clear, therefore, that a permanent settlement will diffuse a greater feeling of security and contentment among the people, and that the natives will become attached to our rule by their strongest passion,—the love of their land. "Feelings of race and religion," says Sir John Lawrence, "have great influence on the people of India; but love for their lands has still greater. Thousands, probably millions, of the people of Northern India, the most warlike of its races, are descended from ancestors who gave up their religion to preserve their land. It is on the contentment of the agriculturists, who form the real physical power in the country, that the security of British rule, to a large extent, depends. If they are prosperous, the military force may be small, but not otherwise."

PARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE.

A WEEK ago, in a suburb of London, a remark was made by a member of society of no higher standing than that of nursery-maid, which struck a casual hearer as containing implicitly a whole system of social philosophy. The unconscious theorist was walking on the high road in charge of two little girls, one of whom was active, and ran about. "Come and walk along of me," said her guide the preceptress. Thus she spoke—and yet seemed to think the sentence unfinished. With the deliberation which uneducated persons sometimes adopt, when wishing to seize exactly the right word or thought—a deliberation prompted either by a sense of rhythm, or a desire to expand the subject, or a feeling of dignity—she waited half a minute; and then added, rather to herself than to any one else, "like a little lady." If the remarks of babes and sucklings are, as a general rule, too scanty and interjectional to enable us to cull wisdom more than occasionally from them, we may glean it, nevertheless, now and then from those who have them in charge. It was this young person's belief, deliberately and thoughtfully adopted, that it was the part of ladies above all things to behave themselves quietly. The representative of the lower orders recognized it as a fixed rule of society that the upper classes could not romp without forfeiting their claims to respect. If this opinion were a singular one, it would possess little value; but it is impossible to think of it attentively without remembering in how many ways, and how thoroughly, the popular judgment must have become imbued with the belief. Gentlemen wear clothes which do not admit of personal exertion; ladies will not eat much, still less undergo fatigue, when others are looking on; well-bred people of every position in life speak in a low tone when addressing strangers; the House of Lords, as the most aristocratic body in the kingdom, is far the most decorous—at least, it was so until that he, Bethell, arose, and he arose a kind of maiden-aunt in Israel. Thus the idea is produced among the public. Violence of word or deed, demonstrativeness, angularity of demeanour, is by the general verdict condemned as ungentlemanly. Manners are supposed to be more stable in their equilibrium the higher we ascend in social elevation. To be genteel, one must begin, according to the true etymology, by being gentle; and those whose ambition is the highest do not even venture to pronounce their consonants with energy. A successor of Charles XII. is said to have contemplated establishing an Order of the Lapdog for the competition of his countrymen; and if he had done so, there would have been, beyond all question, a crowd of aspirants for the symbolical distinction offered.

It may be worth while to devote some consideration to the question why the "rows," for which the House of Commons has lately been so conspicuous, are felt to be discreditable to it, and what are the advantages and disadvantages of allowing people to be abusive. In the first place, there is nothing more certain than that language becomes less explicit as civilization advances. The reason of this is that it is felt to be less powerful in detail. When we have once analysed our expressions so carefully that their meaning is distinct, separate, and incapable of large expansion, we have in many instances secured their clearness at the expense of their utility. A general habit of reading instead of hearing, of looking closely at phrases instead of listening vaguely to them, tends in time to render the more simple words less accurate exponents of the exact meaning of the speaker. It becomes necessary to explain, modify, and even dilute them. Plain-speaking cannot be satisfactory when the idea to be expressed is not a plain one; and this it will seldom be in so critical a generation as ours. Hence it comes that the tendency of civilized language is constantly towards circumlocution and refinement, and the phrases which sounded natural enough in former days now strike upon the ear with a harshness and want of delicacy which our artificial taste resents. Language cannot now for propriety's sake walk about in *déshabille*.

It is not only in the realm of invective that this change from direct to indirect takes place. Archdeacon Hare noticed many years ago, in the "Guesses at Truth," how entirely the first personal pronoun was dropping out of literary use; how the plural "we" was eagerly caught at as a refuge from the too naked "I," and when that was unsuitable, "the present author," or the "writer of these remarks," at once filled space and avoided offensive simplicity. But the change is to be seen everywhere. It is not for the sake of euphemism, or for the sake purely of adornment, that the penny-a-liner calls a queen a "royal personage," and fire "the destructive element." It is partly, also, because his confidence in himself, and in the clearness of his own ideas, will not allow him to be quite sure that queen and fire are what he meant to

say. The indirect expressions are safer, and less open to attack. They seem to offer a slighter shock to delicate literary nerves; they are less rude and boisterous, more refined, more adapted to feeble digestions. We are far from wishing to justify the penny-a-liners; we do not say that a strong-minded penny-a-liner would not rise above these weak circumlocutions; all we say is, that they are natural, and are, on the whole, in accordance with the tone and tendency of the age. There are some literary critics who seem to think it the business of their lives to object to the use of the word "ovation." Why should not the language be enriched by a new word? That it is not generally used in its literal Roman sense is little to the purpose, for few Latin words are so used. A soldier does not receive a system or method when he takes his daily "rations," nor are we celebrating a religious holiday whenever we present our "supplications" to heaven. If reporters do not feel themselves quite equal to declaring that a certain amount of popular applause amounted to a triumph, and yet wish to convey the idea that it was almost something of the kind, let them by all means have their ovation to substitute, with all its inaccuracy and all the happy vagueness which inaccuracy of necessity produces. The objector does not seem to perceive that it is designedly adopted, precisely because it is so slipshod. Critics are not called upon to be persecutors; there is no use in being cruel towards men who merely imitate their age. It does not hurt the feelings of a Chinaman less to cut off his pigtail, because both he and all his friends are perfectly well aware that it is made of nothing but horsehair.

It is chiefly, however, in personal attacks that the growing moderation and indirectness of language is most remarkable; perhaps, also, most valuable. There is no doubt that the vice of strong language is one which grows prodigiously by exercise. When a speaker calls his opponent a scoundrel, he makes himself much more indignant than he makes the most sympathising among his audience; he rouses himself into fury as lions were once supposed to rouse themselves by the lashing of their tails. Again, the more moderate the tone of a speaker on ordinary occasions is, the more force his invective will have when he occasionally lays down the mask. Hard-hitters thus gain in effect from the temperateness of those with whom they are contrasted. When Mr. Roebuck delivers himself of an invective, he adopts always the style of a man who feels it his duty to lay down the mask upon this one occasion only. The majesty and deliberateness which he adopts in his plainly enunciated attacks would fail of half its force if it were not that other speakers habitually hint their meaning rather than express it. The worst of this style is, that in time the secret of it is found out. It is less for this reason, however, than for that of which we have been speaking above, that direct personality is now uniformly discouraged. It has for some time been felt that "I" is too plain a pronoun; we are now, it would almost seem, advancing towards a polite abandonment of "you." Those who have read the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero know how little value was set upon reticence and moderation of attack in days when speeches were not reported and printed. The orators of those days used habitually to call each other by all the contumelious epithets that they could think of without offending the taste of the audience. We seem now to be extending our hatred of egotism into an almost equal dislike of tuism. For the sake of dignity, peace, and decorum, the sentiment is hardly one to be regretted. The old lady is familiar to most of us who declared that upon the whole, as a general rule, it was best not to talk about things; but she was greatly mistaken. She might, with perfect propriety, talk not only about things, but about persons as well, if only she was careful to talk of them as slightly different from what they are. Calling a spade a spade is frank, and manly, and expressive; but it is not polite; and politeness is all-important in places where frankness and truth are sometimes rightly unseasonable. Dogs are allowed by the poet to bark and bite at will, such being their nature. Members of Parliament may bite as much as their disposition and temperament suggest to them; but for the comfort of all concerned the less they bark the better.

Not only has direct abuse been discouraged in civilized assemblies, but it is interesting to observe further how the effect of it has changed. One of the chief reasons why uncivilized people are abusive is because that style of attack is a successful one. The plain epithet will leave its mark when the most bitter insinuation falls unheeded. Red Indians, they say, find the climax of their revenge in the battery of words with which they play upon their captive foe. When O'Connell called the fisherwoman a parallelogram, he hit far harder than if he had mildly hinted that she was notoriously dishonest and disreputable. But with civilized people the case is exactly the contrary. If Mr. Layard had called Mr. Maguire a thundering scoundrel, no one's feelings, except those of the speaker, would have been offended. But when, professing to confine himself to the polite path of indirect assault, he just ventures beyond it into forbidden ground, and speaks of "such a man," Irish blood can stand it no longer, and the Under Secretary is compelled, as was wittily said, to substitute the less offensive expression "a quarter." This very substitution shows the artificial nature of our rules on the subject. If we were to examine all the vocabulary of English abuse, we should probably find that but a small proportion of the words was otherwise than metaphorical or allusive. Even the oaths in men's mouths are oftener pure nonsense than not. When a man says of another that he is a villain, and distinguishes the villainy by some three of the most ordinary words which we should render in print by a series of blanks, he has, probably, after all delivered himself of one expression which he does not in any degree intend, a second which cannot possibly convey any reproachful meaning, and

a third which, as applied to a person's conduct or character, can have no meaning of any kind whatever. Yet even these expressions are too strong for polite ears, before which even conventional invective must be draped in suggestion and irony. It is almost the same with panegyric. Somebody has remarked that the word "virtue" is fast going out of fashion; and such seems to be the case. It is too uncompromising, too indelicate, too trenchant an expression of praise. The cardinal rule which all young speakers have to learn now is, to be sparing in the use of adjectives, and not to lay on the substantives too thick. What would happen if the Speaker "named a member," replied the parliamentary veteran to his country friend, goodness only knows. As a matter of fact, the significance of the proceeding would consist, according to parliamentary usage, in its being the ultimate step before an appeal to the Serjeant-at-Arms; but the mysterious awfulness which the threat carries is to be traced much deeper than this. To be addressed by name is to be drawn from that delicate and civilized retirement which inoffensive individuals may always claim to occupy. The person so named must feel that the protections of innuendo and circumlocution are falling from him, and that he is being left to the mercy of all the rude blasts of coarse and plain-spoken barbarism. He must shudder to think how public his position is, how unmistakable, how *prononcé*. From the terrors of such a fate may their destinies preserve all Under-Secretaries! But if they wish to avoid it, let them learn to respect the laws and statutes which secure to every member of a polished assembly the right not only of being called nothing offensive, but even of being called nothing particular. Socially speaking, our nerves and digestions may be growing as degenerate as some doctors declare that our physical organs are becoming. It may be so, and the fact may possibly have its melancholy side; but, at any rate, it is not well to make the first attempt at a more bracing regimen within the walls of Parliament.

AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

Of the many causes which we all have for regretting the civil war in America, the currency which it has given to a particular kind of writing in this country is by no means the least. Certain writers are never tired of contrasting the principles with the practice of the Americans. They say, What right have you Northerners to call the Southerners rebels when you owe your own national existence to an act of rebellion? George III. had a right to do his best to conquer you because he maintained that you were his subjects; but you have no right to try to conquer the South, because under your own Declaration of Independence it is for them to judge whether or not they will form a part of the United States.

In a certain sense arguments of this kind are highly plausible. Any one can understand and repeat them with appropriate variations, and it is likely enough that they are exceedingly galling to the Americans. Serious and thoughtful writers, who look beyond a momentary triumph, and who are capable of estimating at its true value the regard of a great nation, ought to be above resorting to them. With all their apparent plausibility they are utterly unsound, and those who use them expose themselves to an unanswerable retort. It is no doubt perfectly true that the Americans did base their constitution upon a set of abstract principles which they had much better have left alone. As a general rule speculations should never be put into State papers. "Be it enacted that William and Mary are King and Queen of England" was the very best form into which a revolution ever was thrown, for there is no occasion on which the old maxim "Least said soonest mended," is more in point. But this, after all, is a matter of taste; and it is much easier to show that the Americans were unwise in laying down any general principles at all, than to show that those which they did lay down were substantially wrong.

It is said that the Americans forsake their own principles in stigmatising secession as a rebellion; but unless we are prepared to say that these principles are false, it would seem to follow either that they are not inconsistent, or else that we could not, consistently with our principles, put down a rebellion on the part of one of our own possessions—Ireland, for example, or the Ionian Islands. Are we, then, prepared to deny their principles in substance? Those principles are in substance, though not in words, that the good of the persons governed is the object of government, and that if people are misgoverned, or if their government does not suit them, they have a right to change it, if necessary, by force. Do the writers who twit the Americans with inconsistency, mean to deny this? If so, to what principle do they resort? Do they mean to say that the people of England would have no right to resist, however ill they might be governed? That they ought to have allowed Charles I. to set up arbitrary power, and James II. to introduce Popery? That in the Indian mutiny the question whether or not our rule was beneficial to the inhabitants of India was totally irrelevant? That when Meagher of the Sword and Smith O'Brien tried to get up a rebellion in 1848, they were wrong, solely because they resisted an established government, and not because they were a parcel of mischievous monkeys? That the Neapolitans were wrong in dethroning the Bourbons, and the French in dethroning Charles X.? Of course, those who affirm all this may go on to assert that those who do not agree with them are logically committed to anarchy, just as Roman Catholics contend that every one who is not a Catholic ought to be an Atheist; but no one is consciously so absurd. Whatever nonsense men may talk for the sake of throwing a stone at America, the principles on which the American constitution is

founded have, substantially and practically, become common-places. Every one admits them, we in England as much or more than any one else.

The truth of these views being admitted, what is the sense of charging the Americans with inconsistency? Should we be inconsistent if we forcibly prevented the Irish from setting up for themselves, however much they wished it? According to these writers, it would be necessary for us in such a case to defend ourselves by the wretched quibble that we never passed an Act of Parliament to assert principles which we all believe and should act upon ourselves without hesitation, and that as our technical legal language was framed before those principles prevailed, we have a perfect right to disregard in practice what we all accept in theory, and so to neglect our principles without prejudice to our consistency. No position can be more undignified than playing fast and loose in this manner, professing liberal opinions on all occasions in which our own interests are not immediately concerned, and throwing them up and resorting to antiquated legal phraseology when they are. It is utterly impossible to distinguish the case of Ireland from the case of the Southern States by any argument which stops short of the principle that nothing can justify armed resistance to an established government. Whoever, therefore, charges the United States with inconsistency ought either to maintain that we should be bound to allow the Irish to proclaim their independence of us as soon as they please, or to maintain that no amount of misgovernment and oppression on our part would justify them in doing so. No one would accept either branch of this dilemma, yet it is altogether inevitable if the Americans are charged with inconsistency.

What, then, is the true view of the case? It is that such questions as those which agitate the States are not to be decided upon the narrow principles which ought to govern private litigation. The rules of justice and of right and wrong are not the same for nations as they are for individuals. They differ in many essential particulars, and especially in the all-important circumstance that nations have no common superior who can force each of them to obey his orders. Hence it is a mere delusion and mockery to attempt to apply legal modes of argument to such questions as the one at issue between the North and the South. Each particular case has its own merits and ought to be treated separately. On the one side are to be put the earnest wish of those who resist; their deliberate judgment as to their own interest; their determination, right or wrong, to support by force their own view of it; the extreme difficulty of forcing them against their will to live under a constitution to the working of which their willing co-operation is absolutely essential; the still greater difficulty of holding their territory simply by the strong hand as a conquered country. On the other are to be set the facts that for eighty years they lived under an express agreement which was highly advantageous both to themselves and to the North; that they enjoyed to the very utmost all the advantages which that agreement conferred; that in virtue of it the Union formed the largest and potentially the most powerful empire in the world; that if the principle of Secession is once established that great empire would be entirely broken up; and that the existing state of things was produced by unparalleled falsehood and treachery on the part of the seceders. When these considerations are impartially weighed candid observers ought to admit that either side in the dispute may reasonably be taken by honest men *bonâ fide* anxious to do their duty. It is just one of those cases in which war is the only resort. The two sides may decide matters by fighting. They can decide them in no other way. If every man in every capacity of life always did exactly what he ought to do there would be no war. There would also be no lawsuits and no suffering, or comparatively little, but, men being what they are, they are frequently brought into positions in which it becomes their duty to fight, and though they may be blameable for having put themselves in such a position, it is idle to blame them for fighting when they are there.

The quarrel between the North and South is a case of this kind. In the events which preceded the present war there was certainly much to blame in the conduct of the South,—probably there was also something to blame in the conduct of the North; but when the first blow had actually been struck it would have been the height of cowardice in the one party to submit to invasion and military occupation, and in the other, to allow a great empire, of which they were the guardians and representatives, to be violently broken up without resistance. This is the view which we should infallibly take of our own position if the case arose. It is quite conceivable that a case might arise in which the Irish or Scotch would be right in asserting their independence, and in which the remainder of the empire would be right in attempting to coerce them. This possibility that rights may conflict arises from the fact that men are, from the constitution of their nature, under the necessity of protecting their own interests, whilst they are seldom so situated as to be able to form a just estimate of the interests of others. Hence come lawsuits between private persons and wars in public affairs; and it happens at least as often that both parties are justified in carrying on a war as that both parties are justified in trying a cause in a court of justice. No doubt, in each case one side is right and the other wrong. In a law-suit the law is on one side or the other; in a war, the balance of good to the world at large lies on one side or the other; but war in the one case, and litigation in the other, throw great light on this. If the Southerners are thoroughly determined to be independent—if they are able to gain and to keep their independence—if they are fully persuaded that it is for their interest that they should secede and be independent, it is

desirable that they should be independent; but how is all this to be proved? The best, and indeed nearly the only evidence that can be given, is their possessing the will and power to carry their point by force of arms.

This is to be taken subject to the observation that there is a point at which it becomes the duty of the losing party to submit to an adverse decision. It would clearly have been monstrous in George III.'s Government to carry on the attempt to reconquer the thirteen colonies beyond a certain point; and upon the same principle the successes of the South might be such that further attempts to subjugate them on the part of the North might come to be mere malicious waste of human life. On the other hand the North might succeed so completely that the resistance of the Southerners would take the form of mere private crimes, in which case no one could object to their receiving the treatment of common criminals.

Whilst the war is still being carried on vigorously on both sides, it is absurd to tax either party with inconsistency with their principles. Each side is fighting on perfectly intelligible principles in the usual manner, and it is childish to make a fuss about it as if no one had ever heard of a war before.

RAILWAY MANSLAUGHTER.

THE offence of manslaughter is in some cases amazingly difficult to bring home to an offender to a jury's satisfaction. Arising as it often does from mere carelessness and negligence, judges and juries are not seldom apt to forget how highly blameable and truly criminal this negligence is. They seem to jump to the conclusion that, because there was no malice, no intention to do injury, therefore it would be substantially unjust to inflict punishment.

Thus, in the case of deaths caused in certain ways it comes to this; that nothing short of actual murder is punished, the whole wide field occupied by manslaughter is practically ignored, and everything short of murder comes in effect to be treated as accidental death. To two kinds of death these remarks especially apply: deaths caused by ignorant quacks who undertake the duties of an *accoucheur* with reckless and criminal self-confidence; and deaths caused by railway collisions. In the former instance, because, forsooth, the quack intended to save, and not to destroy, life; in the latter, because death was caused by mere inattention or blind recklessness and neglect of established rules—a false sympathy with the prisoner almost always arises, and being made the most of by an ingenious counsel and a too lenient judge, is sure to bear him harmless.

The proceedings before the coroner in these cases often contrast strangely with those in court. The inquest takes place on the spot; public opinion is hot and indignant; a verdict of manslaughter is returned; and the offender, on bail, awaits his trial. But when the trial comes all has cooled down. The prisoner has lost his practice or his place. It is generally easy enough to show some sort of discrepancy of opinion as to what was the proper medical treatment, or some looseness in the definition or interpretation of the rules and practice of the railway; and the jury is apt to be too lightly induced to forget its duty as guardian of the public safety, and to give the offender impunity.

It is with railway collisions that we are now more immediately concerned. The text of these observations is a case tried before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, at the Aylesbury Assizes, the other day. Here, for once, the facts of the case and the duty of the prisoner came out so clearly, that it is difficult to see how the jury can have arrived, as they did without hesitation, at the conclusion of his innocence.

The prisoner Tomlinson, on the night of the 22nd of last February, was driving a coal-train along the North-Western line from Rugby to Wolverton. It left Rugby soon after ten, and was due at Wolverton at twelve. About twenty-five minutes to twelve, or some fifteen minutes before his proper time, he dashed past a signal station called Hanslope Points (about three miles and a quarter from Wolverton), at the rate of twelve or thirteen miles an hour, notwithstanding that the red danger-light was up, and must have been clearly visible to him for at least a mile before he reached the place. Thus the policeman at Hanslope Points was unable to warn him that there was a train before him, but had to content himself with waving his hand danger-signal with all his might, and shouting at the top of his voice (inaudibly, of course, to this madman) the words, "Train on line." Not content with this speed, Tomlinson actually put on steam soon after passing this danger signal, and so rattled on at from fifteen to twenty miles an hour down the incline towards Wolverton. About half a mile from Wolverton was a "special" cattle-train, to protect which the danger-light was shown at Hanslope. Its driver was proceeding slowly and cautiously towards Wolverton station, which he was unable to enter till a certain Preston goods train in front of him should be cleared away, and the red lights at the station no longer displayed. The guard of the cattle-train suddenly sees the steam of the coal-train approaching. He jumps out of his break-van, puts down an exploding fog-signal upon one of the rails, and runs back, waving his hand-light. He must have reached, he says, a distance of 300 yards from his own train, which was running slowly in the opposite direction, when he came upon the engine of the coal-train. Even then, if Tomlinson had been going at any moderate speed, there would, perhaps, have been time to stop. As it was, it was too late; of course he reversed the engine; but the attempt to check his heavy train of thirty-three trucks was quite useless, and he dashed into the cattle-train, killing a man in charge of the cattle, and wound-

ing several others—smashing trucks and carriages and his own engine, and breaking his fireman's thigh.

Such were the facts for the prosecution, as proved by the guard of the cattle train, the breaksman of the coal train, the pointsman at Hanslope, and by the statement of the prisoner himself, taken, at his own request, before the coroner, and, after some demur, admitted as evidence on the trial. The prisoner's defence was of the flimsiest kind. He confessed that he deliberately put on steam after passing a danger-light, which he disregarded; and that he went on at speed, till, rounding a curve, and issuing from a cutting, he saw the tail lights of the cattle train, then only a few hundred yards ahead. His statement continues thus:—"I put on the break and reversed the engine, turning the steam against the train; but a few seconds afterwards she flew back again into 'fore-gear,'—which would move the train ahead again, "and a second after that we were into the cattle train." In other words, "I admit that I did not attempt to stop my engine till it was too late; but when I did make the attempt my engine became unmanageable." It would hardly be satisfactory in a running-down case to say, "I admit that I did not try to stop the leaders of my drag from running into your basket-carriage till it was hopeless to stop them; but I did try then, and found they were past my control." "The man must have been nothing short of a madman," so said the counsel for the prisoner and the judge, "if he did what he is accused of doing." But in three cases of crime out of four the criminal has no idea of intending to produce the natural consequences of his acts. It is rather cool for an offender to argue thus:—"I did not go in deliberately for suicide and murder. Oh dear, no! I only did such acts as necessarily led to my own and others' lives being jeopardized." But it is a little too much when he continues as follows:—"But then only a madman would have done such acts; and I am not mad, and therefore, after all, the best conclusion you can come to is that the acts were not done at all." Unhappily a man may be very reckless of his own and others' lives, and yet not be mad. In all such cases the law is there to punish such criminal recklessness. But if judges and juries conspire to let it pass unpunished, we are in danger of growing into a habit of universal recklessness of the sacrifice of life wherever there has been no positive intention to do harm.

It is fair to mention the other points urged on the prisoner's behalf. It appeared that a pilot engine following the coal train had attached itself to it for some distance to push it along. This, no doubt, was in part the reason why Tomlinson was before his time. But the pilot engine cast off and moderated its own speed three-quarters of a mile before arriving at the light, which the prisoner passed with such supreme contempt. It was further objected that the engine had not been properly tested since the collision, to see whether it was really in a serviceable and manageable state; and that the fireman who was with the prisoner, and escaped with a broken leg, was not called as a witness by the prosecution. But these seem trivial considerations in view of the facts proved.

How very readily would the same jury, upon facts not half as strong, have found a verdict under Lord Campbell's Act for damages to the family of the deceased cattle-driver! It is all very well to mulct companies of money for deaths of this kind. Let this be done by all means. To give companies a direct pecuniary interest in the public safety is to reduce the danger of accidents to a minimum. Yet, though Lord Campbell's Act is a powerful security for care in railway companies, it at the same time tends to foster a certain callousness as to the importance of life, *qua* life, inasmuch as in the actions brought under it the enormity of destroying life through avoidable negligence is partly lost sight of, the main attention of the parties being concentrated on the business of appraising the life of the deceased for the purpose of damages. It is as in the days of Homer. The group upon the shield of Achilles "were wrangling about the damages payable for a man who had been killed." The death itself is of little consequence. What it can be made to fetch is the important matter.

In an ordinary case of murder, whether the victim is rich or poor, the sympathy excited in the public mind is the same, and the desire to see justice done on the murderer runs equally through all ranks of society. Contrast with this the comparative indifference to the crime of manslaughter, as such, which a railway company must necessarily feel in a case like the present, where, the victim being poor, the damage would be insignificant. How blunting to the conscience and moral sense, we will not say of the company, but of the shareholders, to be allowed to destroy a whole excursion train full of poor people without suffering serious loss, while the death of Baron Rothschild on their line would have gone far to make the concern bankrupt! It would be infinitely better could a fixed fine, say of £1,000, be inflicted on the company for each death caused by their servants' negligence. The sacredness and inviolability of life, taken by itself and apart from all accessories, is what public opinion should never cease to insist upon.

But whether you mulct companies in heavy damages or not, at least let the whole weight of the law and of opinion back them in exacting from their servants that extreme carefulness and attention to rules, which the constant occurrence of danger to life on railways so urgently demands, and in checking that recklessness, which the same perpetual presence of danger is apt to engender. If we cannot have real safety on railways till a bishop has been sacrificed, at least let us do what we can in obtaining a slight instalment towards it by occasionally and upon clear facts convicting an engine-driver of manslaughter.

FEMALE EMIGRATION.

VAST as is the stream of population which flows perennially from our shores to the four quarters of the globe, England can hardly be said as yet to have thoroughly utilized her colonial possessions. The relief is great, but the pressure to which that relief is applied receives scarcely an appreciable diminution. English society throws off, year by year, men, women, and children enough to people a little State, and yet we have over-crowded towns, teeming villages, trades unduly thronged, wages often at starvation point, and all the other painful and familiar incidents of a redundancy of inhabitants. On the other hand, no colony has yet had its wants, in this respect, more than partially satisfied. In none have the capacities of the soil been fully developed; in none has the proper equilibrium of the sexes been attained; in other words, there is a demand for labourers, and a still greater demand for labourers' wives. Millions of acres, replete with every sort of wealth, lie before us, only waiting for us to enter in and take possession. Mines undug, forests where the woodman's axe has never rung, hills where pasturage for a thousand flocks grows unconsumed, waste plains which a few seasons' tillage would cover with abundant harvests,—all are to be had for asking, and require only energy, courage, and perseverance, to be turned to man's account. In many an instance, moreover, great communities, by some sudden process of accretion, grow up, attain the proportions of a full-grown state, and incur the necessities of civilized society, before any adequate means for meeting those necessities have come into existence. Emigrants prosper, grow wealthy, and become something more than mere adventurers. Husbands need wives, masters need servants, children clamour for governesses and nurses, and neither wives, servants, nor governesses are forthcoming. A discovery of gold, or a rapid development of trade, draws a huge concourse of mankind to a single point, before all that nice social machinery without which men cannot live together but to their mutual inconvenience, has been provided and arranged. Some trade is insufficiently supplied, some class of society unrepresented, some link in the chain is wanting. Disorder, suffering, and loss are the necessary results, and they are evils for which our own improvidence, cowardice, or stupidity is mainly accountable. The ingenious essayist who recently discussed the subject of "organization," could scarcely find a more telling instance of the advantages which it brings within our reach, and the evils which its absence entails. On one side of the world we have people wanting work, on the other we have work wanting people, and we have nothing to do but to bring the two together. The task is perhaps a less easy one than might at first sight be supposed, but still quite within our reach. That so little has hitherto been done towards its systematic attainment, that the ordinary laws of demand and supply have been brought so slowly into operation, that weavers starve still in Spitalfields, and labourers in Dorsetshire, while every colony clamours for servants, and five-sixths of Australia are still unreclaimed—seems, indeed, a forcible exemplification of the need of the "organizing mind," and of the good which men forego when its influence fails in being brought to bear upon the details of life and the every-day arrangements of society. We are happy to see that an attempt is at last being made to set on foot a systematic scheme of emigration, really adequate to the necessities of the occasion. Several things are essential to such a scheme. In the first place it must be comprehensive. Its operations must embrace our whole colonial empire. The prosperity of a colonist depends mainly upon his finding out the precise spot where the sort of labour or the kind of capital which he is able to bring into the market is most urgently needed. This is a matter about which it is difficult to find the truth, for the simple reason that it is perpetually changing. The very urgency of the want in one year produces a glut in the market for the next. House building, we may imagine, is, for some reason or other, in vogue, and carpenters, stonecutters, and masons at a premium. By slow degrees the news filters through chance channels to England, and in course of time a host of the required artificers arrive, just soon enough to find their work finished, and their presence entirely uncalled for. Then come disappointment, distress, the waste of a little hardly-earned capital, and either a life of poverty abroad or a return to worse than poverty at home. It is only by a widely acting and constantly informed Agency that we can hope to protect ourselves against mistakes of this description. Particular colonies do even now send home from time to time in quest of various classes of colonists, but the information which they afford is, of course, in the highest degree partial, and no means exist for a comparison of the merits of different localities. The fact of a colony sending its agent to England for emigrants proves conclusively its own necessity, but only raises a presumption that the colonist will be doing well for himself in accepting the offer. Still less can an intending emigrant rely upon representations which are confessedly made for the purpose of recommending one colony at the expense of another by prejudiced or interested persons. At the present moment there is a controversy going on between local newspapers in Canada and British Columbia, as to the respective excellence of the colonies which they represent. The Canadian journalist talks of wide unoccupied districts, of churches and schools, of nearness to England, of a well-constituted society, and on the other hand of the depravity of gold-diggers, of the ferocity of Red Indians, and of the dangers of the Rocky Mountains. In reply the Columbian writer points to vast supplies of undeveloped wealth, to the rapid prosperity of neighbouring countries in analogous circumstances, and to the slow and

uncertain growth of which Canada has hitherto shown itself capable. How is a working man, a half-educated mechanic, or country milk-maid to decide between such conflicting descriptions? How invaluable would be some central authority which might decide, with full information and unsuspected impartiality, on the merits of either place, and on the wisdom of a particular individual selecting it as his future home! But comprehensiveness is not the only essential for a good scheme of emigration. If it is to be permanently useful it must be self-supporting. Emigration is, or ought to be, a paying business, and must not depend upon the chance alms of good-natured people. If a colonist can in a few years make a decent fortune, he ought to pay for the information upon which he acted, and the machinery by which he was enabled to reach the scene of action. To collect statistics, to make careful comparisons, to consider the appropriateness of this or that position, to save the emigrant all the labour and anxiety of inquiry, and all the risk of decision, are all troublesome and expensive operations, on which his prosperity depends, and for which he certainly ought to pay. Some means for securing and enforcing such payment would be a principal feature in any well-devised scheme. Nor is this all. The information which needs to be diffused is often of a minuter and less pretentious kind than finds its way to the columns of a Blue-book or the reports of a Colonial Secretary. The change of life, the abandonment of particular habits, the adoption of a strange employment, are more serious matters to a poor man than to persons of more instruction and larger intelligence. A lad who has never wandered more than a few miles from his native village, and whose father before him followed precisely the same round of occupations as himself, looks with something like terror upon the great unknown world, into which, if he thinks about emigrating, he will have to take a plunge. Considerations which educated persons might overlook, and to which they would give a subsidiary importance, are everything to him. Many a decent girl, for instance, would think that she was endangering her soul if she put herself out of the reach of a Methodist preacher. It is very desirable, if she does think so, that she should not be tempted to do it, and should be able to find out a spot where her favourite ministrations are to be obtained. Again, it is a great thing for colonists to know where people of their own sort, bred in the same county, accustomed to the same habits, and partaking of the same sympathies and interests, are likely to be found. A Yorkshire yeoman is pretty nearly a foreigner to a south-country farmer, or to the inhabitants of a manufacturing city. If an emigrant could make sure of meeting his fellows, and associating with them, his new life would lose half the horrors with which, in anticipation, he at present invests it; and any plan which makes information of this kind accessible to all, would go far to remove a principal obstacle against which the promoters of colonization now have to contend.

In all these respects, the scheme, to which we have alluded, seems to be sensible and well devised. The National Female Emigration Society has, within the last few weeks, found itself a local habitation and a name. It has for secretary a gentleman who, for more than twenty years, has had practical experience of colonial life, and from its office at Charing-cross it hopes to systematize the isolated attempts at colonization throughout the kingdom, to diffuse a large amount of reliable information, to co-operate with branch institutions in every part of the world, to render emigration no longer what it has hitherto so often been—a jump in the dark. Several colonial bishops, several members of Parliament, and more than one returned colonist, secure the due representation of various interests, and will save the matter from falling into the hands of a clique. The promoters of the society have already established communications with the Government of Nelson in New Zealand, and that colony has guaranteed the repayment within two years of the passage-money of a certain number of emigrants, and has made arrangements for the proper reception of the women on their arrival. Similar proposals are being made to the other principal colonies, and when they have been received, the society will be in a position to give the most valuable kind of aid to any enterprising person of good character, who may choose to take charge of its arrangements. When the Government of a place guarantees the repayment, it may of course be left to enforce its own remedies against the colonist, in case of any dereliction. On the other hand, it will of course be necessary to calculate upon occasional losses, and it is obvious that, for some time to come, the society must depend upon subscriptions; nor do we see how money, devoted to charitable uses, can be more advantageously laid out. By degrees, moreover, the society propose to establish a sort of depôt in London, where emigrants without any settled abode may wait till the time for sailing arrives, and may, meanwhile, be trained in some of those simple arts of housewifery, upon which the comforts of colonial existence so largely depend, and in which many English girls are so strangely deficient. In one particular the provisions of the society will be stringent, and its inquiries exact and searching. Other schemes of the kind have come to an untimely end, from insufficient attention being paid to the class of women brought within their operation. Young colonies very sensibly object to having the off-scourings of our streets and the firstfruits of penitential midnight meetings transported to their shores, there to re-enact the melancholy tragedy of a fallen life. Such characters are essentially a home production; and we have no right to inflict them upon less sophisticated conditions of society. But there is, in the sound and healthy portion of the community, an abundance of women who would be delighted to emigrate if they only knew how, and who would be gladly welcomed by colonial governments. To

these the operations of the present scheme will be sedulously restricted, and as the names of the committee guarantee that the project will be carried out with sound sense and liberality, we may fairly commend it to the good will of all who are interested in social experiments, and wish the new-born society a long, prosperous, and useful career.

MOUNTAINEERING.

THE season has again arrived when the sensibilities of the *Times* correspondent at Paris is apt to be severely shocked by the apparition of passing travellers in hob-nailed boots and unshaven beards. The mysterious impulse which drives the British tourist to the top of every high hill in the Alps is acting with all its usual energy. Every mountain, from the Matterhorn to the Righi, begins to tremble at the approach of the great army of travellers. It is perhaps worth while to inquire into the nature of this annual fit of madness, which irresistibly attracts vast crowds into regions considered by their forefathers to be the very type of barren dreariness.

There are two obvious causes, both very sufficient in themselves, for the intense pleasure produced by mountain expeditions—love of manly exercise, and love of beautiful scenery. We must, however, explain a little more precisely the degree in which these causes are actually efficient. It used to be supposed that the danger of mountain excursions was so great that nothing but the desire to advance science could justify them. We never could see why science should have this exclusive pre-eminence assigned to it. After all that can be said, the human race would probably get on nearly as well if they did not know the exact temperature on the top of Mont Blanc at Christmas. They most certainly would not get on so well if they did not occasionally put their digestions in order by the best of all medicines, a mountain walk. It is very hard to establish any definite relations between such different advantages; but, on the whole, we may perhaps safely calculate that, if ten hardworked lawyers or legislators can restore the tone of their stomachs, the net result is worth more to the world than if the same labour had only produced a hundred accurate barometrical observations. Professor Tyndall very happily combines the love of climbing with the love of science. A desire to promote science may possibly have induced him to pass a night on the top of Mont Blanc, but we are quite certain that he never thought about science when he put his neck in danger on the Matterhorn. Every scientific purpose might indeed be perfectly carried out by a corps of fat German professors venturing cautiously into safe places, escorted by an army of guides. The gentlemen of the Alpine Club, therefore, put themselves so far into a false position, when they try to put on a faint halo of science by advertising minimum thermometers and aneroid barometers. It does not excuse one in a hundred of their expeditions, because at least ninety-nine out of a hundred are, as they perfectly well know, undertaken merely for the fun of the thing, without any other purpose whatever. With every respect, therefore, for those who really carry science in their heads amongst cliffs and glaciers, we entirely dispute their right to sneer at those who leave it alone. The truth that health is in fact promoted by such expeditions will be disputed by no one who has joined in them. As for those who have not, we can only recommend them to try to dine with an exploring party immediately after their descent. If they ever doubted the well-known historical fact of ostriches digesting ink-stands, they will doubt it no longer. In fact, though we are rather loath to give the first place to such sensual considerations, we can hardly deny that the pleasure of being able to consume with satisfactory results an indefinite amount of every kind of material used for food, is one of the very greatest pleasures connected with Alpine ascents. The wretch who is training for a boat-race or a foot-race, when treated to his narrow allowance of beefsteak or gruel, must learn to bless his stars and call it luxury. But the mountaineer need only attend to one consideration. Whatever he eats, he must eat plenty of it. A good table-d'hôte, with its endless series of dishes, is the reward of toil, which will often occur to his imagination in the solitary wastes of ice and snow. The only objection, indeed, which can be made to this view of the subject, is that the benefits conferred upon the stomach are counterbalanced by the risk to the security of the whole frame. The answer to the objection is, of course, that the risk is less than that which attends many other pursuits, such as hunting or shooting. When Englishmen give up hunting because it is dangerous, they may begin to think about giving up Alpine climbing for the same reason. Meanwhile it is only necessary to point out that both the risk and the labour have been most absurdly exaggerated. There have been but a very small number of serious accidents in the Alps, and all those which have occurred have been unmistakeably due to want of ordinary precautions. If a man will take the same trouble to learn the first principles of mountaineering that he would take to learn the first principles of any other athletic sport, he may be nearly as safe in the Glaciers as he would in Cheapside. The labour which is required has, if anything, been exaggerated more than the danger. The reason is simple. When a man writes of his own adventures he generally writes well, because he enjoys the essential qualification of having something to say. But at the same time he is most strongly tempted to over-colour the picture, and nothing in the world is so easy as to make Alpine dangers and labours as horrible as heart can wish. The secret is merely to suggest at intervals the awful consequences that would have ensued, if you had walked over a cliff instead of staying at the top, or been struck by a rock which fell in a totally different direction. The unsuspecting reader omits to calculate the extreme

improbability of these contingencies. Then as people in England do not, as a rule, walk more than two or three hours a day, they are perfectly ignorant that if they tried they could easily walk twelve, especially twelve hours at a slow pace, with plenty of halts, and a good inn at the end of the journey. Any man who can walk thirty miles a day in England, who has a tolerable wind and not a very bad head, can, with a little training, be quite certain of easily accomplishing the ascent of any mountain in Switzerland. Moreover, one great fact is not always sufficiently insisted upon by writers and not always suspected by readers, viz., that the men who bear the real labours and have the real responsibility are not the travellers, but the guides. It is not even guessed by the uninitiated that guides are wanted for anything except to show the way. The fact is that they supply nearly all the technical skill required, and have the lion's share of the work. They are even more decidedly superior to the best amateurs than the best watermen or the best professional cricketers to gentlemen oarsmen or cricket-players. The skill and courage which they display are really often admirable, and it is provoking to read accounts of ascents written by men who have been lugged up by their guides without even a guess at the dangers or difficulties to be overcome, and who scarcely condescend to give us the names of the real heroes of the day. The best mountaineers are best qualified to judge of the respective shares into which the credit should be distributed, and, as a rule, set the best example of frank acknowledgment. It is some comfort, too, that the state of things is reversed in Switzerland itself, and that there you are told that it was Bennen or Anderegg ascended the Teufelshorn, and not the unlucky Englishman who painfully clambered after him. The ascent of mountains is, therefore, a pursuit in the power of most men, and it brings its own reward in health and appetite. That would be quite enough to recommend it; but the question still remains, whether what you see is worth the trouble taken to see it,—a question to be asked, Are mountains really beautiful? If they seem to us to be beautiful now, why were they not equally beautiful to our ancestors, and finally are they not more beautiful from the bottom than the top? To discuss these questions fully would require an indefinite space, inasmuch as one small preliminary inquiry would have to take place into the meaning of the word "beautiful." Without entering upon even the outskirts of such a discussion, we may hint that the whole difficulty about the very modern origin of a perception of mountain beauty, to which Mr. Ruskin has devoted a vast amount of rambling eloquence, depends upon this,—that people generally seem to think that beauty is some definite quality to be found in mountains like cleavage, or steepness of slope; and that if it is in them now, it must have been there a thousand years ago. They imagine, further, that some definite and precise meaning is to be attached to a word which is applied with equal propriety to a woman, a character, a mountain, or a mathematical problem. They consequently suppose that when we say that mountain scenery is beautiful we make some distinct assertion, the truth of which must have been equally obvious at any previous period. All these suppositions are quite gratuitous, and the whole difficulty disappears if we ask, not whether mountains are beautiful, but whether the sight of them gives us pleasure. We shall see that it depends upon a set of ideas in our own minds, which are specially liable to change, and that mountain scenery may be very pleasing in the reality which would fail to please in a picture. Mountains may have certain qualities which would be beautiful to almost every one. The glorious colours on the snow at sunrise and sunset would please even a savage who had a natural eye for colour. The brilliant green of the pastures and the sparkling clearness of the water would be equally pleasant to every one. But as a rule, and notwithstanding Mr. Ruskin, we have no hesitation in saying that the colouring of the mountains would strike most men rather by its monotony and sombre hue than by its delicacy and purity. Enormous ranges of gray rock and white snow, relieved only by the green of the pastures, and the monotonous purple of the pine forests, and often made still fainter by heavy clouds, are certainly not cheerful in themselves. To prove this, it is only necessary to pass from Italy, or even from the Swiss lowlands into the high Alps. What, then, is the reason why people are now so universally charmed, or at any rate profess to be so universally charmed by mountain scenery? The colouring of the mountains is sober and dim. Their form, on the contrary, is energetic in the extreme. No one can look at the vast cliffs of the Jungfrau, at the towering obelisk of the Matterhorn, or at the distorted torrents of broken glacier on their flanks, without a suggestion of overpowering force. In fact, it has been scarcely possible even for scientific men to rid themselves of the idea that such gigantic masses must have been raised by tremendous convulsions.

We may assume that this idea of indefinite power would be the first one suggested to any one who looked upon mountains, whether now or in past times. But this is exactly an idea which may be a very pleasant stimulant to the imagination, or an oppressive and disagreeable burden. An exhibition of great power is certainly always exciting to the imagination, but it is not by any means invariably agreeable. A thunderstorm is a very grand sight precisely so long as there is no danger of being struck by lightning. The more intense emotion of personal fear instantaneously expunges every sense of beauty. As long, therefore, as the mountains were a mere howling wilderness, where nobody could grow corn, where there was nothing to eat and no roads to travel upon, it is not at all surprising that they were looked upon as extremely objectionable phenomena. A man must have been very curiously constituted who could have forced himself to admire beautiful forms and colours

associated with such terrible circumstances. Of course, everything is changed now. We can admire the beauty of the wild beast when we have got him in a cage; we can appreciate the beauty of mountain scenery when we know that the mountains cannot possibly do us any harm. We can just taste a little solitude and barrenness, and come down to our inns with an increased sense of comfort. The total absence of anything like real danger or hardship makes it pleasant to play with the imitation of them. When once our minds have been completely set at rest, there are plenty of associations to make mountain scenery not merely tolerable, but intensely delightful. After we have been jammed in a crowd of three million people for nine months, the mere sight of a piece of nature which no human labours have altered is refreshing in itself. The sublimity of precipices, when we are not afraid of falling over them, or suffering any kind of inconvenience from them, is undeniable. The fresh mountain air and the healthy exercise put our minds into the right frame for enjoyment. And we may specially observe that these pleasures are not properly enjoyed till you have penetrated into the furthest recesses of the mountains. When you have stood in the centre of a labyrinth of crevasses, or balanced yourself on an *arête* of crumbling rocks, with the grim depths thousands of feet below, you have felt just that tinge of danger and solitude which produces the strongest effects of sublimity. It matters very little that you have seen nothing that you could put into a picture. It is only so much the worse for the pictures. You have felt all the excitement of adventurous travel with very little of the danger. You have satisfied the instinct which draws civilized men to the prairie or the desert. The question why people once thought mountains offensive lumps of earth, and now think them exquisitely beautiful, is hardly a question at all. They raise an entirely different set of associations in people's minds now from what they did formerly. You might as well ask why a faggot and a stake were unpleasant objects to a Protestant in Queen Mary's time, and lively ones in the time of Queen Elizabeth. When once people have ceased to be afraid of mountains, there are plenty of reasons for liking them, from their effect upon the appetite to their sublimity in appearance; and when people begin to like anything they soon learn to call it beautiful.

Whatever the cause may be of modern admiration of mountains, the fact remains. It is not, indeed, much shared by those who ought to value the mountains most. A first-rate Swiss guide has been known to express a decided preference for the railway view over the London chimney-pots of Lambeth to that from the top of Mont Blanc. But no English traveller can visit the mountains often without becoming attached to them, and, we may add, as a general rule, the higher he goes the more he likes them, and the more he likes them the higher he goes. To those who can afford it we can safely recommend a trip to the Alps, with the advice to attack the highest mountains with the best guides they can find.

THE CLERGY IN ITALY.

THE political enfranchisement of the Italian people has been effected by war; their mental and moral emancipation must be the result of reform. Three centuries' misrule had done its work upon society; it had enervated and corrupted the higher classes; it had brutified the lower orders. Whatever sympathies the firm and moderate behaviour of the Italians for the last three years may have won them, it is impossible for their best friends to deny that there is not, in their present condition, a moral ground on which real freedom may be based. Religion was enforced upon the nation, and it was turned into an engine of force. Amongst thinking men, coercion begot passive compliance; utter, scornful, unconquerable indifference. With the ignorant multitude, thought was crushed and feeling was deadened under empty form and grovelling practice. Religion ceased to be a binding power, or it only bound the body where the secular arm had the means of killing the soul. The better sort of Italians attended mass for the sake of quiet living; they eschewed flesh and fowl on fast days, when they ran a chance of being found out; they confessed at Easter, when Government expected every man to produce his sacrament-ticket. What was with some an affair of necessity became with many matter of habit. The mere observance of religious duty sat lightly enough on the soul, and the Church took care, by every variety of pageant and mummery, that it should delight the body. The Holy Week ceremonies were as good as a play; the Fête-Dieu procession was only a little gaudier than a masquerade; for the rest, an Italian peasant put his faith in a wooden Madonna, and wondered how the Protestants could be Christians, since their priests married!

An establishment like this cannot long fit a free community, especially when one thinks of the cost at which it must be kept up. Belgium and France are Catholic states, yet neither of them has the tenth, nay, the twentieth part of the bishops and archbishops that fatten on priest-ridden Italy. Austria is submissive to the Holy See, yet she is not eaten out of house and home by monasteries to one hundredth part of the extent to which that evil had been allowed to grow up in Italy. Over three millions of Italians the Church had established sovereign sway. In the remaining parts of the peninsula priests and monks were lords of one-third of the soil.

This state of things cannot continue under the newly-developed freedom; nay, it gave sign of passing away even under the late absolute régime. Charles Albert wrote down, in his Constitution of 1848, that "the Roman Catholic religion was the State religion." Count Cavour, almost with his dying word, put forth his formula, "a free Church in a free State." Which-

ever of these principles may eventually gain the upper hand in Italy, it is very certain that either the Church must fall, or it must be made to stand on its own legs.

If Italy is to have a state religion, the numbers of the clergy and their salaries will have to be determined by Government, as is done in France and Belgium; if the Church is to become self-dependent, she must beforehand be made to disgorge those temporalities with which fraud or force invested her. She will be turned naked and poor into the world—as naked as she was born, as poor as she was eighteen hundred years ago; she must rely for support on voluntary contributions. Her rock will have to be built on that authority which springs from persuasion.

What the real mind and heart of the Emperor Napoleon may be with respect to Italy, is a problem which puzzles most brains. But, whether he means well or ill, one thing is certain, that he is, willing or unwilling, doing his best for the Italians; and none of his acts are calculated to be in the end so beneficial to the struggling nation as the protection he extends to the Pope, and to the brigands in league with him—the weary length to which he designedly draws the Roman question.

"Many are the ways leading to Rome," says the old Italian proverb; and it must go hard indeed with the patriots of the Peninsula if, in their anxiety to reach their capital, and in the evident obstruction of all the old thoroughfares, they are unable to carve out a new path to their goal. The French garrison may be too hard a nut for their teeth to crack, and De Merode's Pontifical Zouaves may be enemies too far below contempt; but the Pope's real host is spread all over the country; the priests are quartered in their enemies' own camps, and with these the Italians are grappling now for dear existence.

The Italian Government and its subjects have behaved hitherto with great wariness and forbearance: they have put up with much provocation; they have paused in mid-career, unseduced even by the prospect of certain and immediate success; they have been feeling their way, testing their strength, trying the temper of the people. They have put off decisive action, to ascertain how far they could securely venture. Even had the whole priesthood in the country only one head, they inquired, would it be wise, would it be safe, to deal the blow? The Italian populace—the peasantry, at least—cannot spare the priest; they must have their mass, must take their sacrament, must kneel for absolution; they may jeer and scoff at the minister of the altar, they may curse and cudgel him; they may live, but they dare not die, without him. Kings may fall, states go to ruin, even prelates may be cuffed and popes handcuffed; but there must not be a Sunday without its mass, or a death-bed without extreme unction.

Religious reform in Italy must begin with the clergy; nay, it must, at the outset at least, be simply ecclesiastical, not religious. It is doubtful, indeed, whether a successful sect ever sprang up any where in the world without a priest to lead the van. In Italy a layman may achieve demolition, but could hardly attempt reconstruction; the priest, on the contrary, must strive to rebuild, without seeming to pull down. There is no lack of dissenting communities in the country,—Waldensians, Evangelicals, Independents. They keep open chapels, distribute Bibles, publish tracts; but they make no proselytes. The Italian instinct of union shrinks from dissent; national jealousy revolts against the importation of foreign tenets, however adroitly disguised. The Italians must have one church, or no church at all. There is, in their opinion, an eternal, mysterious, inscrutable truth, which the human mind must not fathom, which doubt must not breathe upon. It must be rejected at once, or must be swallowed whole.

Of that inevitable truth the Pope and his clergy are the keepers and champions; as the Church is one, so must the clergy be; a priest ceases to be a priest the moment he steps asunder from the system of which he is part and parcel. A reformer in Italy must needs be a Catholic and a Papist, or at least profess himself such to the end of his mission. The Pope may disavow him, excommunicate, anathematize him, but he must be or declare himself all the more Popish for all that. Like a wife divorced against her will, he must cling to the name, and vindicate the rights of wedlock.

Of this nature is the revolution which is now going on in Italy under our eyes. The Pope is at war against the King of Italy; he denounces such priests as make common cause with the patriots. Most of the bishops carry hostilities to the verge of open rebellion; but many of the lower clergy are fast in their allegiance to their Sovereign and country. Here the head of a diocese is deposed and imprisoned by Government; there he is driven into exile by the incensed populace; the clergy under him take no notice of his removal; the canons of his cathedral pass a vote of blame on his disloyal behaviour. There, again, the prelate is either bolder or more wary; he either bids the State open defiance, or stops short of violent opposition, and stands his ground without committing himself. He orders his clergy to keep aloof from national festivities, forbids their singing a *Te Deum* for a patriot victory, or their granting absolution to a dying liberal. The priest sets episcopal authority at naught; he confesses and absolves, blesses standards and trophies, hallows the cause which is avowedly not the cause of the temporal power. The bishop threatens and thunders; he hurls the interdict, suspends the refractory priest *a divinis*, takes the mass from him, deprives him of the power to bind and to loose: the priest says his mass all the same; he christens, marries, anoints and aneals, and the people go to hear his mass; they receive his benediction, and think it does them as much good as if it had the sanction of all the bishops in Christendom.

From the moment the ignorant Italian mass have faith in the blessing of an interdicted priest, the country is safe and ripe for reform. Now there are many of the clergy in the North and South of Italy who have to stand by an interdicted altar, and their flock worship at that altar with as much devotion as if it were the shrine in the Sixtine Chapel. Had Pius IX. and the bishops assembled around him last month, ventured upon a sweeping anathema against the whole "rebel" kingdom, there would hardly have been one mass the less, hardly one dying man at a loss for the consolations of religion. The cause of the Papacy is no longer that of the Italian people; it has ceased to be that of the Italian lower clergy, at least of the sounder part of the lower clergy; it is for the upper hierarchy to see what their next move is to be, to decide to what extremities the contest is to be pushed. A very great, though silent, revolution is going on in men's minds in this country; its results will be seen whenever the Pope declares war or sues for peace. Happen what may, unless Italy is to fall back under Austrian sway, or unless France enforces her will upon twenty-two millions of people, the Church must come to terms. Those terms must imply a resignation not only of the sovereign temporal power, but also of all the temporalities which the higher clergy enjoyed by its favour. Italian priests must be, as Alfieri predicted, "few and orderly" (*pochi e quieti*); the episcopal sees must be established on the reasonable footing of Belgium and France; their property must be confiscated or reduced to reasonable proportions; the condition of the lower, especially of the parochial, clergy must be improved; monks must vanish from the face of the land; the civil law must be untrammelled by canonical decrees; and religion must be brought to such a standard as may put it in keeping with the spirit of the age, and may be found consistent with unlimited freedom of inquiry.

The schism virtually exists already in the hearts of many of the lower clergy, and of their congregations. It remains to be seen how far the Pope will persist in widening and exposing the breach. The Italian priests, in great numbers, have set their hearts against the hierarchy; they do not denounce or disavow them, but they learn, and they teach their people, to take no heed of their displeasure—to live and to die without them.

MEN OF MARK.—No. LI.

FATHER PASSAGLIA.

It will sometimes happen, in this series of contemporary memoirs, that the persons selected are men whose occupations have lain very remote from the sympathies of ordinary English readers. The life of a foreign academical professor, wholly devoted to the apocryphal science of Romanist theology, would have but little claim on the interest of most laymen in this Protestant country, were it not for his recent appearance as an opponent of the Pope's temporal sovereignty, an advocate of ecclesiastical reform in the Catholic system, and a clerical ally of the Italian political cause. These are matters which do appeal to popular feeling among us, and which partly answer to our best wishes for the establishment of national freedom, while the remaining part, which concerns the New Church Reformation that is apparently destined to take place in Italy, and thence, perhaps, to spread in the course of a few years through other Continental nations, may hereafter prove to be of no less importance. A sketch, therefore, of the career and actual position of Father Passaglia may be worth the attention even of those who utterly deny the religious authority and disbelieve the creed which it has been the main task of his life to set forth. His influence is now so considerable among his fellow-churchmen and fellow-countrymen, that he must, in any case, be reckoned among the notable individuals of our time.

Carlo Passaglia was born in the Duchy of Lucca in 1814, the son of a small landowner, but not being the only son, was dedicated from his childhood to the clerical profession. In the school of his native town he had masters of more than local repute, such as Lucchesini and Lazzaro Papi; but at fourteen years of age he was sent to the University of Pisa, to begin his more advanced studies in literature and philosophy. His youthful training, however, comprised two years' novitiate in the Jesuits' College at Rome. When twenty years old he was appointed a school teacher of mathematics and physical science at Reggio, in the State of Modena; but from his delicate health, and from the severe climate of Northern Italy in winter, he was obliged to quit that residence and to settle at Tivoli, near Rome, with a similar employment, which again he was soon forced, by alarming symptoms of consumptive disease, to relinquish. He then devoted himself, during the next four years, to theological studies, after which he took the full orders of priesthood. His health by this time was restored, so that he was now able to undertake more than one academical office, being at the same time professor of canon law at the Collegio Romano, and "prefect of the studies" or general superintendent of the German College. Having reached the age of thirty, he underwent a year of monastic discipline in the Convent of St. Eusebio, and then professed "the four vows" of the Jesuit Order. He resumed his labours at the Roman College, thenceforth holding the theological professorship, which he continued to do without interruption until 1848. In that year the revolution took place, and all the Jesuits in Rome were expelled. Passaglia, in charge of a few of their divinity students, came to sojourn for a twelvemonth in England and Belgium, that their private tuition might go on undisturbed. In December, 1849, the Pope's Government being re-established, he went back to Rome, and became superintendent or "prefect of the studies" in the Collegio Romano. This post he held till 1856, and during that period he also had the instruction of the ecclesiastical history class. As an author, meanwhile, he showed extraordinary industry, composing in those years many theological works. It is enough here barely to mention the titles and subjects of those dissertations. They were a treatise on the eternity of future punishments; a commentary on the Enchiridion of St. Augustine; an essay on the limits of reason and faith; another on the Scriptural evidence of the prerogatives of St. Peter; an edition of Petavius, his townsman, one of the

most learned and famous of the Jesuits; two volumes on the constitution of the Catholic Church; three volumes of essays on sundry themes of controversial divinity. Other literary productions came from his being attached as examiner, reporter, or consulting theologian, to several "Congregations" or Commissions of Cardinals for certain important Church affairs. His services were given, in this way, to the Congregation of the Propaganda, and to more than one Special Commission charged to hold an inquest upon the doctrinal discussions of the time. That which made the most noise, however, was the revival of the old question concerning the Immaculate Conception, which it is the chief boast of Pío Nono's pontificate to have settled. On this occasion it devolved on Father Passaglia, as official editor of the Acts of the Congregation *ad hoc*, to address the whole prelatical and professorial body throughout Europe, to canvass their opinions and reduce them to a positive declaration of Catholic belief upon the subject. Three quarto volumes, in addition to "conferences" or lectures at the Church of the Gesù, and a vast amount of correspondence, represent his labours in this affair. The Pope was delighted to celebrate, with a pompous ceremonial in St. Peter's, the final enunciation of this dogma, in witness of which, as in the canonization of the Japanese martyrs the other day, a hundred bishops were convened, from every country of Europe, to receive it from the Apostolic oracle; and, for an attesting monument of the fact, a column was erected in the Piazza di Spagna, with the Madonna's statue supported by four prophets, which, in an artistic point of view, is but a tawdry and tasteless design. The polemical prowess of Father Passaglia, however, had been signalized most brilliantly in replying to objections and reconciling discrepancies with regard to this disputed article of faith. At that time (five or six years ago) he was esteemed the Coryphæus of Jesuit Rabbism, and, on the ground of doctrinal orthodoxy, the promptest and the most valiant champion of the Holy See. It should particularly be observed that there is nothing whatever in his writings and teachings, since that time, to justify the slightest imputation against his orthodoxy as a Roman Catholic, or his zeal for the Papal authority in spiritual matters. He still claims to be as unimpeachable in this respect as Father Newman himself; and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. The head and front of his offending, in the eyes of his virulent assailants, is simply that he has calmly and firmly protested against the prostitution of the Church's most solemn and terrible sanctions, as he deems them, to the base worldly uses of a prelatical court.

Passaglia had the courage to do this about a twelvemonth ago. He did so, by publishing a Latin pamphlet, addressed to the Roman Catholic bishops generally, and entitled "Pro Causâ Italianâ;" the authorship of it being no secret, though it did not bear his name. It was an "Apology," or, as we should say, "Vindication" of the political deliverance and union of Italy, as an enterprise which it lay beyond the Papal jurisdiction to prohibit or to condemn. It is written in a tone so guarded, so deferential, so painfully dutiful towards the Holy See, that it may appear to English readers a very tame and inadequate remonstrance. But the strength of it lies in the truth of it. The author, as a simple priest standing up to rebuke the bishops, first proved to them, from the examples of the early Church, that priests had as much right as bishops to have their say upon all affairs in which the interests of religion were concerned. Entering, then, boldly upon his principal argument, after some metaphysical or mystical reflections upon unity, he deplored in accents of bitter sorrow the miserable plight to which the Catholic communion in Italy had fallen,—the people not so much alienated from it as driven away from it, the pastors at enmity with their flocks, and the Chief Pastor himself, the Vicar of Christ upon earth, hurling a sentence of excommunication against all his countrymen. What a scandalous and grievous spectacle is this, exclaims Passaglia, and what have the Italians done to deserve such treatment? Have they turned heretics, like the English, the Germans, the Swedes, and the Danes?—have they rebelled against the spiritual authority of Pius IX., or invaded the rights and liberties of the clergy? Not a bit of it; they and their rulers proclaim the principle of "a Free Church in a Free State," the last political maxim bequeathed by Cavour; they desire nothing but the peaceable establishment of their civil freedom and nationality; they seek not to despoil or to fetter the Church, or to diminish her sphere of action; they have nowise conspired against her. The Church ought not to kick against the pricks.

It should be remarked that Father Passaglia had enjoyed singular opportunities of learning from Cavour's own lips what really were the sentiments and intentions of Victor Emmanuel's Government on this question. He had more than once, in the preceding six or eight months, been confidentially employed by that very small minority of the College of Cardinals which was disposed to seek an amicable compromise. He went to and fro between Rome and Turin, in order to inquire what guarantees for the independence of the hierarchy might be provided by the Italian Legislature in exchange for a voluntary renunciation of the Pope's temporal dominion. One of these not impracticable members of the Sacred College was the late Cardinal Santucci, who died shortly after Count Cavour. It was notorious that he had had some communication with the Italian Minister on this subject, and popular rumour among the Romans at the time of his death said that he died of a broken heart at the failure of his endeavours to heal the fatal rupture between Italy and the Church; it was said, moreover, that he had been encouraged up to a certain point by Cardinal Antonelli to make those conciliatory overtures; and that his having done so was afterwards treacherously turned against him, to bring him into disgrace with the Pope. It is certain that no sooner was the breath out of poor Santucci's body, than Antonelli seized all his private papers, and placed them under his own lock and key. The only remark, however, material to our present subject is that Passaglia was quite cognizant of the propositions drawn up in Cavour's life-time, and since formally announced by Ricasoli, for the settlement of the Roman question on the basis of an absolute non-interference of Church and State with each other.

The circumstances to which Passaglia more immediately alluded, in his vindication of the Italian cause, were a practical illustration of the same principle. Those abuses of episcopal power for the purpose of annoying and discrediting the new Italian Government, and that jostling of the Church and the nation in an attitude of mutual hostility, were most offensively displayed on the occasion of the Festival of Independence, on the first Sunday in June. By the Act of Parliament instituting that festival, it was left freely to the option of the clergy in every town and parish, to join or not to join in

its celebration. Many of the clergy in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany, chose to associate themselves with the popular rejoicing, and performed a solemn mass of thanksgiving for the liberation of Italy. They were, in not a few cases, punished for so doing by a sentence of suspension from their respective dioceses; they were excluded from ministering in their churches, and deprived of their professional incomes. These harsh proceedings called forth a number of spirited remonstrances, which have been repeated still more emphatically in the present year. The address that was presented a few weeks ago to the Bishop of Brescia by the priests of Val Trompia, whom he had censured for the sin of patriotism, is conceived in the very spirit and expressed almost in the very words of Father Passaglia's general epistle to the Italian bishops last year:—

"Tell us at once, in Heaven's name tell us, why this unhappy country of ours, always torn, plundered, trodden by foreign robbers, should not be allowed to thank God that He at last has freed her? Tell us why this poor Italy, always distracted by internal and external foes, should not refer to the Almighty the thought and realization of her complete unity—that unity which is the first and foremost wish and necessity of every family, and of every society on earth as well as in Heaven? Tell us why we, priests and pastors, should oppose the most unanimous, the most earnest, most irresistible aspirations of our flock, and close against them the doors of that house of God to which we invite them daily, of which they uphold the decorum, and in which they have what they hold dearest? Tell us, finally, why, when religion lays upon us the duty of thanking God for every event, be it happy or unfavourable, now some bishops would teach us a different doctrine?"

For the succour of those "ejected ministers" who are rendered destitute by the episcopal inhibitions on account of their sympathy with the national cause, a bill has just been proposed to the Chamber of Deputies, granting them a pecuniary allowance to be taken out of the revenues of the bishops themselves. The justice of such retaliation cannot be denied; but it is to be hoped that the Government and Parliament of Italy will prefer adhering to the principle of an entire separation of Church and State, which seems to preclude any legislative restrictions on the exercise of hierarchical discipline. Signor Petrucci della Gattina, the author of this proposal, could never make it acceptable to those riper Italian politicians, who are mindful of the maxims of Cavour. Another bill is also under discussion, which makes it imperative that all sentences of clerical deprivation or suspension shall be ratified by a Minister of State. This appears to be equally a departure from the policy of Cavour and Ricasoli, which had the approval of the majority last year.

The position, however, which Father Passaglia, no longer a Jesuit, but no less devout and ardent a Roman Catholic, has now taken up, is consistent enough. He is in fact a champion of the spirituality of his Church as against the worldly pretensions and temporal politics of the Papal Court. It would lead us too far beyond the proper scope of this journal to follow his theological arguments, in several later publications, with regard to the functions of the Pontificate, its local establishment in the supposed metropolitan see of St. Peter, the impropriety and inexpediency of its remaining still bound up with a secular sovereignty, the juridical incapacity of the Pope to decide on the rightfulness of the Italian revolutions, and the nullity, *ipso facto*, of his decrees of excommunication hurled so madly and so idly against Victor Emmanuel and his people. These opinions, which are sustained by Passaglia with innumerable citations from St. Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyprian, and other patristic authorities, may be advantageously compared by readers of his own creed with the less out-spoken yet very significant conclusions of Dr. Dollinger, the Munich professor, whose book, translated by Mr. McCabe, was reviewed in our pages two months ago. A change is now coming over the most instructed and thoughtful minds in the Roman Catholic Church, which may bear fruits to render the nineteenth century as critical an era as the sixteenth was in the ecclesiastical history of Europe.

With reference, again, to the personal adventures of Father Passaglia, since he challenged the Papal Court and the servile prelacy to this debate last summer, we might repeat some rather amusing anecdotes, which were, however, sufficiently related by the Italian correspondents of English newspapers at the time. It may be recollected how, after printing his pamphlet at Florence, he boldly returned to Rome, while all Italy and all Europe rang with the noise of the explosion,—how he sat down there in his professor's chair, coolly intimating his readiness to maintain the thesis which he had propounded, against the disputants of the Inquisition,—how, instead of risking a logical encounter with one so cunning of fence, they called in the police, and sent Lieutenant Freddi with a party of carabinieri, with swords and staves, to carry off his books and papers, probably even to arrest his person,—and how Mrs. Foljambe, the English lady in whose house he was staying, kept the gendarmes at bay, by pleading the immunity of her domicile and sending for the British consul, while Passaglia quietly walked out and started on his road to safety out of the Papal States. How the Jesuits were disappointed when, through a stupid blunder of the police-lieutenant, they missed getting hold of the dreaded manuscript of "Cardinal Tolommei's Memoirs," which they had hoped to rummage out in the search,—how the consul insisted on the return of Passaglia's two chests of papers illegally taken from Mrs. Foljambe's house,—and how the officers of the Inquisition, pretending to restore this property in obedience to the order which had been procured, sent her back the empty boxes, carefully locked, to be forwarded to their rightful owner,—all this, when it happened in September last, made a story which told rather badly for the "Holy Office" that had practised so paltry a trick. We need not follow Passaglia to Turin, where he now fills a post in the university. He is also, since Christmas last, the editor of a journal, *Il Mediatore*, which he has set up expressly to disseminate his enlightened views of the relations which ought to subsist between the clergy, the State, and the people of Italy.

If any Protestant readers, because they totally differ with Father Passaglia on subjects of divinity, should consider that he has been spoken of in this memoir rather more favourably than his performances deserve, let them choose between our account of him and the following, translated from the last and loveliest publication of M. Veuillot, a book in two volumes, fancifully entitled "Parfum de Rome," in which precious nest of spiceries the ex-professor of the Roman Sapienza is thus sweetly embalmed:—

"But here is the real infamous wretch, in comparison with whom all others

seem innocents. Here is the monster more formidable than fire, worse than the pagan and the renegade. This is the priestly enemy of the Church—the parricide, the Judas still wearing the robe of the Apostles, his mouth still full of the Divine mystery. Infamous wretch! We will not despise you; whatever the paltriness of your mind, crime is in your heart, and this crime is too great. May you be accursed for the crime of your heart. May you be accursed of the people you have scandalized. May you be accursed of the astonished priesthood throughout the world. May the mother that has given you birth curse her womb. May the bishop who ordained you curse his hand. May you be cursed in Heaven. Accursed be you, sacrilegious priest, profaner of the altar, abominable parricide, violator of the most sacred oaths. All that you have betrayed you have betrayed ten times over. It is of you it has been said, 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born.' If you do not repent, may God count your steps in the path of evil, and not forget one of them; may He accumulate upon you the load and the infection of the sins which you cause to be committed, and of those which you may have remitted! May all the blessings which you have received, and which you have repudiated, turn against you; may they fall heavily on you; may they crush you like a Sacrament of Satan. May the holy ointment burn you; may it burn your hands, held out for the gifts of the impious; may it burn your forehead, round which the light of the Gospel was to have beamed—that forehead which has conceived felon thoughts! May your stained robe become a robe of fire, and may God refuse you a single tear to temper its ardour; and may your stole be to your neck as the millstone to the neck of Babylon flung into the pool of sulphur!"

And this is the "Perfume of Rome." We may well "stop the nose" at such a "metaphor." It is the aromatic essence of that sickening question of the Pope's temporal power which still poisons the political atmosphere of Europe. Oh, for a disinfectant!

Reviews of Books.

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY.*

ALTHOUGH the title-page of this most important publication bears the words "second edition," it can hardly be called a second edition as far as regards the public. It is true that the mass of what now form the first four volumes—the French documents—were originally edited by M. Teulet several years ago for the (we believe defunct) Bannatyne Club, in three ponderous quarto volumes, of which a ridiculously small number of copies were printed, and they only exist among the few scattered members of the club. Monsieur Teulet has, therefore, done a great service to historical literature by republishing this collection in a form and at a price which will make it easily accessible to the historical inquirer, and, at the same time, he has increased the number of French documents, as well as carefully revising those previously printed, and has added a very bulky fifth volume of Spanish state documents relating to English and Scottish affairs during the same period. These latter are of especial importance, in fact, they are more valuable even than the French documents, for the light they throw on some of the hitherto mysterious events of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These documents—French and Spanish—consist almost entirely of the correspondence and papers of the ambassadors and diplomatic agents of the two foreign powers. It may be necessary to explain that in the sixteenth century, when there were no public means of obtaining authentic information relating to events in a distant country, the ambassador was expected to join the duties of a spy with those of a negotiator, and, by his letters, he kept his sovereign well informed, not only of the progress of his negotiations, but of the state of the country to which he was accredited, and of occurrences of all kinds, even to the intrigues and scandals of the day. Hence, where these papers have been preserved, they become a treasury of invaluable and, to a certain degree, trustworthy information for the modern historian.

From the time of the wars between England and France, under our Plantagenets, the sovereigns of the latter country made it a great aim in their policy to establish and keep up a powerful influence in Scotland, in order to use that country as a diversion in case of hostilities with England, if not as an entrance for invading the latter. Hence, so early as the times of our Edwards and Henries, when the King of England made war upon France, it was generally a signal for hostilities on the Scottish borders, and the Scottish invaders were sometimes assisted by French auxiliaries. With the reign of Henry VIII. the Spaniards, with their ambitious aspirations at universal conquest, began to be not only the rivals of France, but to seek to draw England within the range of their policy, and they now also began to study Scottish affairs with an interested eye. It is needless to say that under Philip II. this feeling of rivalry became much stronger, and, during the reign of Elizabeth, Scotland was the object of a continued struggle between the Kings of Spain and France and the Queen of England to outwit each other. Thus, ambassadors or other agents sent from France or Spain were employed to watch England no less anxiously than Scotland. The documents connected with this struggle, collected and published by M. Teulet, are so numerous, and the information they contain so abundant and various, that our space will allow us to give but a brief view of the whole, and to dwell only on a few points of special importance.

At the commencement of the year 1515, François I., who had then just ascended the throne of France, sent M. de Plains as his ambassador to Scotland, to renew the treaties of alliance between the two crowns, and the documents published by M. Teulet commence with the instructions given to this envoy, the result of which was the treaty of Rouen, offensive and defensive against England, concluded on the 26th of August, 1517. This treaty, which was the foundation of the relations between Scotland and France during a great part of the sixteenth century, is here made public for the first time. The alliance became now so close, that François I. looked upon Scotland almost as a dependency of his crown; and his ambassador, De la Bastie, received from the Scottish king the appointment of lieutenant of the Borders, which was, perhaps, meant as a demonstration against England. The Border

chiefs, however, took umbrage at the appointment, and, having drawn the ambassador-lieutenant into a snare, ruthlessly murdered him. The Scottish Government, in obedience to the wishes of the French monarch, sent an army against the murderers, who fled into England. A number of documents are here printed relating to this murder, and to the affairs of Scotland under the regency of the Duke of Albany, when the French influence seemed for a moment shaken by the intrigues and hostilities of Henry VIII. of England, and by the misfortune of François I. in the battle of Pavia. Other papers follow, relating to the two French marriages of James V., first with Madeleine of France, and secondly with Marie of Lorraine (Guise), the latter of whom was the mother of Marie Stuart, the unfortunate Queen of Scots.

We pass from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of his son and successor, Edward VI. James V. was now dead, and under the regency of his widow, Marie of Guise, Scotland was exposed to violent internal troubles, arising, in great measure, out of the endeavours to enforce the supremacy of French counsels. The first document of this reign published by M. Teulet is a long and detailed account in Latin, by a scholar of the University of Oxford, of the expedition by the Protector, Somerset, into Scotland, and of the battle of Pinkie. A number of very interesting documents which follow, and which form the bulk of M. Teulet's first volume, relate to the French expedition to Scotland which followed the battle of Pinkie, the unsuccessful siege of Haddington, the escape of the young Queen, Marie Stuart, into France, and her marriage with the dauphin. From this time Henri II. affected to consider Scotland as one of his provinces, and those who resisted the authority or measures of the Regent as rebels to his own crown, and the dauphin, in right of his wife, assumed the title of King of Scots. The "rebels" were, however, becoming daily more troublesome, and the French influence more odious. Under Henry VIII. of England there had been an English party in Scotland, which had been more or less powerful according to the frequent change of events, but the religious reformation of the two countries had now greatly increased it, and tended to unite the interests of the two kingdoms. The documents relating to the occupation of Leith by the French, and its siege by the English, and to the conduct of Elizabeth in the Scottish troubles at the beginning of her reign, are no less interesting. The Spanish Government began now to interfere more directly, for the King of Spain, and especially his regent of the Netherlands, the Duchess of Parma, had become fully convinced that the French king aimed at attaching not only Scotland, but England also, through the claims of Marie Stuart, to the crown of France; and they feared the two alternatives, of France overcoming England by force, which they imagined to be an undertaking of very easy accomplishment, or of those two countries making peace, and uniting against Philip II., in either of which cases the crown of Spain risked the loss of the Netherlands. The policy of Philip, therefore, was to hinder open war between France and England, and to promote a reconciliation, in which the French influence in Scotland should remain unshaken—which meant, keeping up a permanent jealousy and suspicion between England and France, which would give Spain the power of always setting one against the other when it might be expedient for her own interests.

François II. died in the December of the year 1560, and the widowed Queen Marie of Scotland became from that time an object of greater interest to Spain, and was the centre of all the intrigues which followed. The Spanish documents relating to the relations between England and Scotland begin with this date; two or three of the earlier of them are printed in M. Teulet's first series of papers; but the mass of them, which form the fifth volume, begin with the year 1562, and extend to 1588. The government of France was now in the hands of the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, and the ambitious and unscrupulous family of Guise, to which Marie belonged on her mother's side, was carefully excluded from power, and sought its own aggrandisement by throwing itself into the Spanish policy. Philip II. never sent an ambassador to Scotland, but entrusted the Scottish business to his ambassador in Paris, which was then the centre of the Scottish intrigues, and where he could easily watch the agents of all parties. M. Teulet's Spanish documents are chiefly taken from the despatches and correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors to the court of France during the period just mentioned.

In perusing these papers, we are struck with the extreme ignorance which the foreign diplomatists display of the real state of England and Scotland and of the true character of their peoples; and, in their eagerness to get at information, they sometimes obtain such ridiculous stories, even from the English and Scottish Ministers themselves, as would lead us to suspect that the latter were only making experiments upon their credulity. There is in the first letter in this remarkable fifth volume, a despatch from Don Frances de Alava, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France from 1563 to 1571, to his sovereign, Philip II. Alava, telling Philip rather mysteriously the well-known story of Chastelard, found concealed in Marie's bedchamber, informs him that he had been assured, on good authority, that this man had confessed before his death that he had been employed by the enemies of the Guises to proceed as he had done, in order to bring a stain upon the private character of the Queen of Scots, which would prevent the King of Denmark, or any other foreign prince, from marrying her; and at a rather later period, when the murder of Darnley was talked of abroad, the same ambassador gravely repeated to his master Philip the statement of Marie's ambassador in France, the Archbishop of Glasgow, that Catherine de Medicis and Queen Elizabeth were the instigators of the crime. The distrust, too, which each party shows towards the other, is very remarkable. The King of Spain and his agents, while they sought to make use of the Guises, acted towards them with cautious suspicion, not as yet having learnt how much the selfishness of that ambitious family was greater than its patriotism; while the Guises negotiated and intrigued with the Pope, without Philip's knowledge; and the Pope leaned much more towards the Guises than towards the King of Spain, apparently because the former showed less reluctance in adopting measures of open violence. Catherine de Medicis had evidently no real sympathy with the Scottish queen, and was guided in a great measure by her fear of the designs of Spain. Marie Stuart herself was trusted by none of her political friends abroad, who talk constantly as though they were convinced of her crimes, and express fears that their best plans may be overthrown by her indiscretions,—we will not say plans in her favour, for she was only considered so far as she could be made to contribute to the gratification of the interests and ambitions of the plotters. At first, even Philip II. affected, through his ambassador, to treat her advances with coldness, and Alava would hardly grant an audience to her im-

* *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe. Siècle; Papiers d'Etat, Pièces, et Documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des Bibliothèques et des Archives de France. Publiés par Alexandre Teulet, Archiviste aux Archives de l'Empire. 6 tomes. 8vo. Paris, 1862. London: Williams & Norgate.*

fortunate ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow. The only individual who stands out with dignity in the midst of these frightful intrigues is Elizabeth of England, who, with a full knowledge of the dangers which surrounded her, shows in these confidential revelations no selfishly interested or personal feelings, but, as far as the diplomatic correspondence can be fairly interpreted, she displays an honest desire to draw the young Scottish queen from the baneful influence of these evil-designing princes, and place her in safety on an honourable throne.

During the latter months of the year 1564, Marie's ambassador in France, the Archbishop of Glasgow, had made several attempts to obtain the confidence of Don Frances de Alava, who evaded them all, until at length, in the beginning of the year following, he admitted him to a private interview. It was the moment when the great subject of discussion was the choice of a husband for the Queen of Scots, and the archbishop read to the Spanish ambassador a letter from his mistress, in which she wished Alava to inform Philip II. that she approved of nothing which had been done by her other friends, but desired to be guided entirely by his counsels, and it appeared in the sequel that she wished to marry either the Prince of Spain, Don Carlos, or the Archduke Charles. Several other foreign marriages had been put forward, which were not likely to meet Philip's approval, who, probably through jealousy of these, advocated, rather warmly, the cause of Darnley, and he seems not to have countenanced this new proposal. Another reason for Philip's conduct also pierces through the cautious language of many of these despatches. Philip recommended her at this time to conciliate Elizabeth, and by this means to secure her succession to the throne of England, which seemed then to be the best chance of bringing back England to the bosom of the papacy. Marie, through her ambassador, declared to the Duke of Alba her resolution to place herself in future entirely under the guidance of the King of Spain, and in return the duke exacted a promise from Marie's ambassador to say nothing of their interview to the Guises, alleging that they might mention it to Catherine de Medicis, who of course would communicate it to Elizabeth. From this time there appears to have been more cordiality between Philip and the Queen of Scots.

We will pass over Marie's rapid and troubled reign in Scotland, which is here illustrated by innumerable curious documents, and follow her to her English prison. During this period her distrust of France, and her devotion to Spain, had been increasing; but both Courts were so confounded by her own actions that their intercourse with her was carried on with more caution than ever; yet to abandon her, on the part of Philip, would have been to give up prospects of reducing England to the religion of Rome and the tyranny of Spain, to which he adhered with tenacity, and perhaps she might serve his purpose better in prison than at liberty. Marie, as a prisoner, had become desperate, and she was ready to snatch at any plot which offered the hope of escape; but they were generally discouraged by Philip and his ambassador as calculated to injure the cause rather than to save it; and, indeed, her agents and partisans were neither of the wisest nor of the most scrupulous. On the 29th of September, 1573, one of these, a Hamilton, whose letter is here printed, wrote from Brussels to the ambassador Alava, informing him that he had been successful in all the preparations for his grand design, which was no less than to effect the assassination of the Prince of Orange; he says that he had consulted with the Duke of Alba, and that he had got in his pay a countryman of his own, a Scotchman, who was fitted in every way to do the deed. He failed, however, on this occasion, and the design is only known by this letter; but James Hamilton, the contriver of it, seems to have brooded for months over his "service" to the Catholic Church, — the Spanish courtiers called it "a great service to God and to his majesty, and a benefit to the public," — for a letter from the secretary, Aguilon, who had temporarily taken Alava's place in Paris, dated the 16th of May, 1575, states that James Hamilton had started four days before from thence to the Low Countries to compass the murder of the Prince of Orange, that Hamilton had delivered a Scotchman from the French galleys, to whom he could trust for doing this dark deed; and that he, the Spanish Minister, had given him a letter of introduction to Requesens, the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands. This second design also failed.

We cannot notice all the dark plots and intrigues which we trace through these documents, and which gradually resolved themselves into a great league against Queen Elizabeth and Protestantism. The policy of the King of Spain appears sometimes exceedingly mysterious, and can only be explained by his suspicions of those with whom he was allied. In 1570 appeared the well-known papal bull, which declared Queen Elizabeth a schismatic, and pronounced her dethronement; and a confidential letter from Philip to his ambassador in France shows that, on this occasion, the Pope had acted entirely without his knowledge. Philip expresses to Alava his strong disapproval of this proceeding, as a rash act calculated to injure rather than to serve the cause of Catholicism, and attributes it to the favour in which the Pope held the Guises, and especially to the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine. On the 5th of May, 1571, the well-known papal agent and conspirator, Ridolfi, first appears on the scene, in a letter from Pope Pius V. to Philip II., recommending to that monarch Ridolfi himself and some great plot he had in hand. Ridolfi had proceeded from Rome by way of Brussels, where he was received by the Duke of Alba, who, on the 7th of May, writes a despatch to the King of Spain, in which he gives a detailed account of the plot into which the Duke of Norfolk had been drawn, and which more than justifies all the proceedings of Elizabeth against that nobleman. The Duke of Alba liked the general plan of this plot, but had no faith in the means of carrying it into execution, yet he gave it all the encouragement he could without openly compromising his master. The secret of the great league against Elizabeth and the Protestants is disclosed in a letter from the Secretary Aguilon, written from Paris on the 6th of November, 1572; but a much more interesting document is a copy, or rather a translation into Spanish, of the plan of a counter-league, under the title of "A confederation made between the kings, dukes, princes, free-towns, republics, and lordships, of Germany, England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Flanders, of both religions, to oppose the tyranny of some enemies of all piety and virtue, authors of the horrible cruelties which have troubled the peace of Christendom." This very important project has been hitherto totally unknown to historians, and is well deserving of study for the advanced views of free government and liberal institutions which it contains, views which must have struck like daggers to the hearts of Philip II. and the Pope.

We pass again over a long period of time, and a great number of pages of interesting documents, filled with intrigues, and plots, and facts of various descriptions, many of them unknown until these papers saw the light. On the 13th of August, 1586, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, one of the most celebrated of Philip's ambassadors, who, having been expelled from England for his unscrupulous intrigues while ambassador there, was now established in the same quality in Paris, writes a long despatch to the king his master, in which he informs him that some months before a monk had come to him as the messenger of the English Catholics, to ask if, in case they should raise a general insurrection in England, they could reckon upon the support of the King of Spain. Mendoza gave him encouragement in general terms, but required to know more of the particulars of their design. Accordingly, subsequently to this, a gentleman named Gifford came to Mendoza, as the representative of the Catholics in England. Gifford represented to him the great discontent of the principal Catholic families, giving him the names of most of them, and the motives which had led them into this plot, the object of which was to overthrow Elizabeth's Government. He stated that the great obstacle to the undertaking was found in the known vigilance of the English queen, and her friendship with France, but that a young gentleman named Babington, of good family and of great zeal in the cause of the Romish religion, had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth, and had entered for that purpose into a plot with six gentlemen who attended at court, whereby he had the entrance of the palace. He engaged to murder the queen on the very day of her throne, whenever it should be decided to carry the enterprise into effect, on condition that assistance should be sent from the Netherlands immediately, and from Spain time enough to be of service. Mendoza gave them every encouragement to execute an enterprise which, he says, was "truly worthy of Catholic hearts, and of the old English courage," and promised them that the moment they should have assassinated the queen, they should receive the assistance they wanted from the Netherlands and from Spain. Moreover, he pressed them to lose no time in carrying out their design, and offered them many suggestions as to the best way of proceeding as soon as the queen was dead. Mendoza tells the king that this was the most promising of all the conspiracies which had been formed in England during so many years, because it was the first in which the murder of the queen had been proposed, and that now it was to be made the basis of the whole enterprise. Cecil, Walsingham, and other English statesmen, were to undergo the same fate as the queen. In reply to this despatch, Philip II. wrote to Mendoza on the 5th of September, giving his full approval to this plot, but expressing a fear that danger might arise through letting too many individuals into the secret. He announces that he has given orders for the preparation of the necessary succours in Spain and Flanders to be sent over to England at a moment's notice, but he presses the immediate execution of the principal act, namely, the murder of Elizabeth. A brief letter from Mendoza, on the day after the king's letter was written, informs the king of the discovery of the plot, and of the arrest of Babington, Gifford, and others. In another letter, written on the 10th of September, Mendoza gives the king further particulars; informs him that some of the conspirators had confessed that the King of Spain and his ambassador were privy to the conspiracy; and states that he intends to acknowledge this to be true, and to allege, in excuse, that as Philip was then at war with Elizabeth, he had a right to do whatever he could to destroy her. The same day Mendoza wrote a second despatch. As yet the name of the Queen of Scots had not been brought forward in connection with the plot, but now it appears that the ambassador had been in correspondence with Marie, and he speaks of one of her letters which left no doubt in his mind that she was fully acquainted with all the details of the conspiracy. He says, further, that no doubt some of his own letters would be found among the papers seized by the English Government in Marie's cabinet, but that he had always written them in such equivocal language, that they could be variously interpreted at will.

Thus exploded a plot, so base and atrocious in its design, that we can only understand its reality by the known character of Philip II. and the men he employed, but which Mendoza describes gravely as being "so Christian, so just, so profitable to the Christian religion and to the service of the King of Spain," that he can hardly find words to express his chagrin at its failure, and to the success of which Philip II. looked forward with a hope founded on "the aid of God." These letters give us a full insight into the part which the Spaniards acted in this affair, and afford at least a very strong presumption that the Queen of Scots was an accomplice, acquainted with all the designs of the conspirators. Its result was, on one hand, the trial and execution of Marie; and, on the other, the exasperation of the king of Spain, who now carried on his designs against Elizabeth more openly, until they were all defeated by the destruction of the Armada. The papers relating to the proceedings against Marie, and to the preparations for the invasion of England, are all interesting; and it is only by reading these original documents that we can appreciate the imminence and greatness of the perils with which our country was then threatened, and appreciate what we owe to the firmness and abilities of its queen.

The Spanish documents published by M. Teulet reach to the end of the year 1587; the others are continued through the embassies of M. D'Esneval and others, from the court of France to that of Scotland, and only ends with the accession of James to the crown of England in 1603.

In a short notice, such as our space will allow, it would be impossible to give any sufficient notice of the vast mass of interesting information contained in these five bulky volumes. They form one of the most valuable collections of state papers we have yet seen, and no historical library ought to be without them.

ITALIAN SCULPTURE AT THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.*

THE riches of the art-collections at South Kensington are, perhaps, scarcely yet rated at their full value by the public. The Museum, and especially the pictures belonging or annexed to it, are, indeed, objects of much popular interest; and the importance, multiplicity, and rapid growth of the collec-

* South Kensington Museum. Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works forming the above Section of the Museum, with additional Illustrative Notices. By J. C. Robinson, F.S.A., &c. Chapman & Hall.

tions are, in a general sort of way, sufficiently understood and recognized. But probably few English people would be prepared to accept at once the statement that the Museum exceeds, in comprehensiveness of material, anything to be found in Paris, or would be conscious of the high excellence of some of its sections—that of Italian sculpture, for instance. We believe it to be a fact, nevertheless, that no such collection of Italian, Mediæval, and Renaissance sculpture is to be found out of Italy itself; and probably even in Italy this phase of the national art would seldom be met with in so orderly and systematic a shape, gathered together with so much endeavour to exhibit the progress of the art, and to fill up its chronological sequence.

The reader of the "Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue," lately issued by Mr. Robinson, the Superintendent of the Art Collections, as an official publication for the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, will be set right in any inadequate notions which he may entertain as to the extent and importance of the sculptural collection. He will find that it consists of no less than 210 pieces, ranging from Nicola Pisano in the thirteenth century, to the school of Bernini in the seventeenth, and including, with various others, the names of such masters as Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti, Donatello, Desiderio da Settignano, Antonio Rossellino, Verrocchio, Pallajuolo, Luca and Andrea della Robbia, Michael Angelo, Raffaele, and Giovanni da Bologna. The men here represented must certainly be more than half the whole number of leading Italian sculptors. We regret to miss Giotto, Orcagna, Brunelleschi, Leonardo da Vinci, and Cellini; but the absence of these offers much less matter for surprise than the presence of so many of the others. Of these others, however, two or three are not, it must be added, present for certain, but only in works "attributed" to them. Such is the case with Ghiberti and Desiderio (though there seems to be very little doubt about the latter). The scepticism of connoisseurs on this point will naturally be sharpened by the assumption made by the officers of the Museum; and the more confidently Mr. Robinson expresses himself as to the genuineness of the works, the more will learned doubts be suggested by the unofficial adepts. For our own part we are content, in a general way, to adhere to Mr. Robinson's views. He has always shown himself a diligent and judicious as well as a zealous investigator; has got up his subject with skill and acumen; and, though not squeamish in the expression of decided opinions when he entertains them, bespeaks, nevertheless, respect to his convictions by frankness in avowing hesitation or entire dubiety where he finds no grounds upon which to base a judgment. While many works are only "attributed" to particular authors, many more are left without ascription to any known hand. Leaving these uncertainties out of the account, we find six works by the Pisani, two by Ghiberti, eleven by Donatello, six by Verrocchio, twenty-two by Luca della Robbia, fourteen by Michael Angelo, five by Giovanni da Bologna, and so in proportion; truly a goodly list.

Mr. Robinson expresses a strong opinion against the exclusive study bestowed upon the antique in sculpture. He is, we think, quite right in saying that the antique had little influence upon the Italian sculpture of the fifteenth century,—less than upon the works of the Pisani in the thirteenth and fourteenth. In the productions of the next cycle of Tuscan masters—as markedly in those of Jacopo della Quercia and Desiderio da Settignano—we come upon something which may fairly be called a new ideal of the art. The sculptors of this period threw themselves quite as frankly as the painters upon a new train of ideas and motives, which may claim to be considered distinctively proper to Christian art. Sentiment in character, expression, and action, predominates over mere beauty of form and movement; the idea of the subject, as disengaged from the mere idea of perfection in type of art, is developed to a high point; at the same time that a truly vital feeling of grace, and great exquisiteness in the lines of form and composition, united with delicate nicety of execution, generally uphold in its fitting place the artistic conception. The latter is by no means lost sight of as an element in the whole result, while the original impulse is more constantly derived from the sentiment and religious or human impression of the subject-matter. Another marked characteristic, from first to last, is the approximation of sculpture to the style of design proper to painting, not seldom unduly overstepping the boundary-line between the two arts. This testifies to the original, ingenious, and daringly tentative character of the school, trying in art, with simple self-confidence, whatever seemed to it desirable to be represented from nature. No doubt, this cannot be termed a merit, but mostly the reverse; although it often interests and pleases one, and shows a lively unjaded condition of the art. The phases above referred to form the starting-point of all the Mediæval Italian figure-sculpture of great excellence, still continuing after the strictly Mediæval character had merged in the Pagan mythology of the Renaissance. Even in Michael Angelo it pervades the whole body of the work, although the antique has by his time become the model of human figure-study. In fact, a work by Michael Angelo is about as unlike a Greek or Roman work as is one by Ghiberti or della Robbia.

The lesson for our own time derivable from this condition of Italian sculpture seems to be that a new impulse, a new point of view, are both possible and needful; and that the study of the antique must not be allowed to degenerate into any attempt on the sculptor's part to throw himself back into that form of art, as a concrete whole, reproducing, or rather attempting to reproduce, its specific character and subject-matter. This attempt has been made now for many generations past, and has resulted mostly in failure and in a cramping of the artist's power. The only possible supplanter of the antique, as a model for the sculptor's study, must be nature, regarded with a genuine endeavour to elicit, in some new or yet unexhausted direction, the powers of emotion and suggestion which nature possesses, and embodied in art without any servile subjection to any one school of the past; though all of these may be called in to assist, teach, and nerve the artist as he proceeds in the difficult career of realization. Of the various schools, the antique is unquestionably the one from which most is to be learned, as regards sculptural ideal and the form of embodiment; but this must be understood as a finishing lesson to an artist already qualified by conception and perception of nature, not as a summary substitute for these primary qualifications.

The catalogue now before us includes all the works in the Museum which the Mediæval Italian sculptor may, in the compiler's judgment, have been called upon to execute; some minor classes of sculpture, such as wood and ivory carvings and medallions, will fall into a separate catalogue.

The collection began with the purchase, in 1854, of the Gherardini collection of models, thirty in number, and has since been laboriously supple-

mented by purchases from dealers, very frequently in Italy itself. The last important acquisition was that of the Gigli-Campana collection, a year and a half ago, under the following circumstances:—The Marchese Campana, director of the Papal Monte di Pietà, or pawnbrokers, had amassed an enormous museum of classical and other works of art, drawing freely upon the sums which came into his hands officially. One of his agents, Signor Gigli, had also formed, on his own account, a collection of Italian sculpture; and having offered it to the marquis for purchase, had, in the first instance, pledged it to the Monte di Pietà. The marquis's loose, if not deliberately dishonest, dealings with his official funds, having become known to the Government, he was imprisoned, and his museum sequestered for reimbursement of his defalcations, estimated at upwards of £200,000. When the museum came thus into the market, public and private purchasers were naturally on the alert. The disorganized subdivision of national art-concerns in England is evidenced by the fact that three public bodies—the British Museum, the National Gallery, and the South Kensington Museum—were all represented by agents seeking for portions of the collection, though not bidding against each other, as far as we are aware. Mr. Robinson, on behalf of South Kensington, concerned himself only with Italian sculpture and majolica. He recommended the purchase of eighty-four examples—sixty-nine from the Gigli and fifteen from the Campana section; and, finally, this entire lot was bought for £5,836, exactly in accordance with Mr. Robinson's suggestion. The riches of this acquisition are very considerable indeed: including a Virgin and Child ascribed to Nino Pisano, two groups of the same subject by Jacopo della Quercia, a Birth of the Baptist ascribed to Ghiberti, a Christ in the Sepulchre, and Christ giving the Keys to Peter, by Donatello, the latter a renowned work; a Sketch for the Monument of Cardinal Forteguerri, by Verrocchio; twelve medallions of the months and many other precious specimens of Luca della Robbia, a life sized marble Cupid, and an unfinished St. Sebastian, by Michael Angelo; and many other works, some of them bearing eminent names, some of high intrinsic excellence, or combining both these advantages.

Mr. Robinson's catalogue forms a handbook of permanent value to the sculpture collection at South Kensington, according to its present limits, which do not, perhaps, admit of very notable extension, owing to the great difficulty of procuring specimens. It contains besides a considerable amount of information useful to any student of Italian sculpture. The plan is to give a concise description of each object, its certain or supposed author, its dimensions and date, the source from which it was obtained, and generally some critical or illustrative remarks, supplemented, in the case of the more eminent men, by a summary account of their careers, and a list of their principal works *in situ*, and also by occasional engravings of the Museum works, quite as good as such copies usually are. All these particulars evince a careful and detailed acquaintance with the subject, and suggest many topics of great individual or artistic interest.

We set a high value upon Mr. Robinson's labours, and would with pleasure follow him into some of the points upon which he treats. As our limits, however, forbid our doing this to any adequate extent, we shall conclude with a few scattered remarks upon details which appear to us open to question.

It is, we think, scarcely fair to argue the great advance of sculpture beyond painting in the fifteenth century solely from a comparison of Ghiberti and Donatello, who died respectively in 1455 and 1466, with Angelico and Gozzoli, who died in 1455 and after 1485. These two painters, supreme as they were in certain great qualities, must be rated among the least advanced of the time in naturalistic attainment and emancipation from ecclesiasticism. They were, in fact, decorative purists, especially Angelico. If the comparison had been extended to men of a wider and freer aim in painting, and particularly to Masaccio and Lippo Lippi, who died, the former in 1443, and the latter in 1469, the contrast would be far less decided, and would indeed stand on a wholly different basis, although the conclusion stated by Mr. Robinson would certainly not be reversed. In proper names we notice two serious blunders. The statue by Donatello in Giotto's Campanile in Florence, named "Lo Zuccone" (not "*Il Zuccone*," as in the catalogue), is so entitled on account of his prominent bald head, and cannot possibly be meant for David; he is one of the Evangelists, and generally (perhaps with certainty) called St. Matthew. We cannot say for sure whether there is also a Donatello's David in the same building; if so, it is most unquestionably a different figure. The second mistake is that of calling Cosmo III., who died in 1723, "the last prince of the house of Medici;" his son and successor, Giovanni Gastone, who died in 1737, was the last. There is also a discrepancy of dates in the case of the sculptor Sansovino, who would have lived to the age of 102, and not (as affirmed) of 93, if Mr. Robinson's dates of birth and death, 1477 and 1570, were correct. With these inadvertencies we may notice also the habitual slips in Italian spelling, as of "*de*" for "*di*," and "*reposito*" for "*riposato*," small matters, no doubt, but calling for correction in any second edition. We apprehend, too, that Mr. Robinson mistakes the meaning of Signor Bocchi in lauding the "*invenzione*" of Donatello's "Christ and St. Peter." The "*invenzione*" or "*conception*" of the work, and not the "*composition*," as translated by Mr. Robinson (which quality, indeed, makes but a very moderate show), appears to us to be referred to. The itch of translators for departing from the primary meaning of their original words, or the arrangement of their sentences, is a very unfortunate one, as if there were anything clever, or a sort of secondary inventiveness, in the process; nor does Mr. Robinson seem to be wholly free from this proclivity.

CAUSERIES DU LUNDI.*

A NEW volume attests the undiminished vigour and application of M. Sainte-Beuve, who, for all that we can see, is as likely as not to begin, in a few months, a second series of "Causeries," which may in time, like this one, number its seven or eight thousand pages. Much as he has been before the world, M. Sainte-Beuve is not yet sixty. It was only in 1828 that he published his first work. The author of the "Causeries du Lundi" has seen life on various sides. He

* *Causeries du Lundi*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Tome 15me. Paris: Garnier; London: Williams & Norgate.

made his *début* as a medical student, and from anatomy he passed to poetry and romance. His fame, however, rests, and will, we think, continue to rest, upon his powers as a critic. A critic he is of the very first order, abounding in knowledge and in tact, many-sided, apt to admire, yet not without a certain spice of malice. No one mingles, so charmingly, literary anecdote with careful and discriminating praise. His blame is generally just, but he has little pleasure in passing sentence. The ferocious criticism which the *Edinburgh Review* made fashionable in this country, and which has been often imitated on both sides of the Channel, is not his *forte*. He prefers the "venom of the dove" to more direct and deadly weapons. On the whole, however, he is a merciful censor both of literature and morals, so merciful that we may well doubt whether he hates the transgressions over which he passes so lightly, with a sufficiently vigorous hatred. There is a half-amusing, half-shocking want of principle about him. No one who is familiar with his modes of thought is surprised to learn that he is one of the comparatively few men of letters who adhere to the Imperialist cause. With Nisard and one or two others he occupies a somewhat uncomfortable position, coldly looked on by his brothers of the Institut, and feeling, one cannot help thinking, now and then a little ashamed of himself. It would be easy to find excuses for him and his fellows if this were the place to do so, and equally easy to show that these excuses leave a stain behind, but it is time to turn to the pleasant pages which lie before us.

The first paper is one of the most agreeable in the book. It is devoted to Maurice de Guérin, a young poet, who died early, leaving a great name in a small circle, but little known to Europe or to the bulk of his own countrymen. His history may be read at length in M. Sainte-Beuve's elaborate article, with which it will be wise to compare another in volume xii. of the "Causeries," which tells the story of the poet's sister, Eugénie de Guérin. The "Remains" of this modern Antigone were privately printed, some years ago, at Caen, and a notice of them appeared, by permission, in the *National Review*. We strongly recommend the volume to the consideration of those who wish to understand the influence of Catholicism upon the daily life of a highly-cultivated Frenchwoman living habitually at a distance from the capital.

The articles on the *Journal de D'Ormesson*, on General Joubert, on M. Nisard, on Louis XVI., and on M. Thiers, are, perhaps, those which we could most willingly spare from this collection. The second, which is of great length, is especially tiresome, but the roll of the *tambour* makes anything readable in France. The papers on M. de Tocqueville are unsatisfactory, for the critic follows his subject with unequal steps, and hardly conceals his annoyance at the uniform seriousness of the statesman and philosopher. Here and there he hits a blot, as, when he reminds us that Tocqueville's knowledge was, especially in the earlier part of his life, by no means proportionate to his power of thought. The tone is throughout kindly, but occasionally something peeps out which makes us think that, in his heart of hearts, M. Sainte-Beuve does not like to hear Aristides always called "the Just." We cannot trace any *arrière pensée* in the article on M. Scherer, another intellect of a graver sort than M. Sainte-Beuve's. He gives to the ex-professor of Geneva, the judicious critic of the *Temps*, the Renan of French Protestantism, all the praise which he deserves, and the amount of his desert is assuredly not small. "J'aime assez à sonner le premier coup de cloche, comme on sait," says our good-natured critic. The article on M. Scherer was written nearly two years ago, when his rapidly increasing fame was not so well established as it now is.

The article on De Maistre is very short, very interesting, and very just. So is that on the reception of Lacordaire at the Institut. We could, indeed, have willingly seen M. Sainte-Beuve more severe upon the eloquent Dominican, whose admission amongst the representative men of French intelligence has always seemed to us a doubtful piece of tactics. "It is above all things necessary," said the Liberals, "to keep out a partisan of the Government." Perhaps—but we wish some better candidate could have been found. We do not know "La Littérature Française à l'Étranger," by M. Sayous. It must be worth reading—to judge by M. Sainte-Beuve's review of it. The author is a man of undoubted intelligence; the inspector of the non-Catholic religious communities in France. He is closely connected with Geneva, where he was for some time a professor. This explains to a great extent the choice of his subject. M. Sainte-Beuve's observations on the cosmopolitan little republic are excellent—possibly rather sanguine, but that is a fault on the right side. The "constraint," of which he speaks as salutary, is pushed, perhaps, a little too far. People may suffer themselves to be carried back to obscurantism by the reaction against Vogt and Fazy. The strange story of Mrs. Dalrymple Elliott, with all its lights and shades, is well told by our *causeur*. The atmosphere of the *demi-monde* rather suits him. He is inspired by the winds which blow from Cythera, and loves, even at his time of life, that side of existence which is "libre, brillante, Ionienne, et voluptueuse." A curious passage in the conversation of the unhappy Philippe Egalité is worth noting—that, we mean, in which he assures his mistress that what he most envied, was the life of an English country gentleman. We believe that the present Emperor has often expressed the same sentiment.

The article on Madame Blanchecotte, a poetess of the same class as our Thoms and Wingates, is kindly meant. That on Béranger is characteristic, alike in its just appreciation of the merit of the lyricist and in the slight perfume of baseness, so to speak, which it exhales. M. Renan's paper on Béranger which appeared in the *Débats* may be read as an antidote.

In M. Sainte-Beuve's menagerie the most diverse animals are shut up in contiguous cages. Thus Parny, the amatory poet, and the Abbé Saint-Pierre, an odder and uncouth Bentham, find themselves within a very few pages of each other. From the tasteful, pretty paper on the former we extract the following lines, which we are told are the "chef-d'œuvre des modernes épigrammes à inscrire sur un tombeau":—

"Son âge échappait à l'enfance;
Riante comme l'innocence
Elle avait les traits de l'amour.
Quelques mois, quelques jours encore,
Dans ce cœur pur et sans détour,
Le sentiment allait éclore;
Mais le Ciel avait au trépas
Condamné ses jeunes appas.

Au Ciel elle a rendu sa vie,
Et doucement s'est endormie
Sans murmurer contre ses loix.
Ainsi le sourire s'efface,
Ainsi meurt sans laisser le trace,
Le chant d'oiseau dans les bois."

The article on the Abbé, who is the person ridiculed by La Bruyère under the name of Mopse, is as amusing as possible. It is full of anecdote, as is natural, for the solemnity of this Siéyes before his time was relieved

by more than a fair share of human weakness. The note at p. 265, "un peu scabreux," is redeemed by its wit.

In the articles on Voltaire and Rousseau we find nothing so remarkable as a few sentences from a notice of Madame d'Houdetot, by the famous Lomenie de Brienne, in which that prince of the Church selects the disbelief of his friend in immortality, as the most prominent ground of praise. With this remarkable passage may be contrasted a paragraph of Rousseau's, which is written in the style of the "Paroles d'un Croyant," but which might, so far as the sentiment is concerned, have been written by the most orthodox of bishops. It is to be found at page 237, and will repay perusal.

M. Sainte-Beuve at one time affected to act the part of mediator between the Institut and the Government. Four of the papers in this volume were contributed by him to the *Moniteur*, with a view to render "possible" the insertion of the speeches made at the reception of M. Ponsard, M. Biot, M. De Falloux, and M. Emile Augier. A fifth is a similar article from another governmental publication—the *Revue Européenne*,—on occasion of the reception of M. Sandeau. None of these have much merit, and the "trail of the serpent" is everywhere sufficiently visible. We have expressions of admiration at the increasing majesty of that "grande figure de Napoleon." We are reminded of the ingratitude of the learned for that stable order which alone renders study possible. M. De Falloux is taken to task for not having "one word of justice for the tutelary power," and so forth.

After all, however, it must be admitted that if M. Biot and M. De Falloux deserved to be celebrated by a more dignified panegyrist, the other three, whose glories are sung by M. Sainte-Beuve, have nothing to complain of—nothing, we repeat, although a few pages further on they may see similar incense offered at the shrine of such vermin as Feydeau. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse*. M. Sainte-Beuve should have remembered this, before, side by side with a letter to the *Moniteur*—in which, in his capacity of critic, he praises the author of "Fanny"—he inserted an address delivered at the École Normale, in which in his capacity of professor, he shows that he understands the application of a higher standard. In the former of these there is an amusing passage on the *salons*, too severe, but yet with some truth in it. In the latter the remarks on Shakespeare, on Goethe, and on the classics, are all worth turning to.

The paper on the Abbé Fléchier is in M. Sainte-Beuve's best style. It is sensible, graceful, full of information. Fléchier, afterwards so famous as a preacher, was tutor in his youth to the son of M. de Caumartin, who was one of the commissioners sent to hold that celebrated assize which is known in history as the "Grands Jours d'Auvergne." He saw and heard all that passed in this strange tragi-comedy, and described it in a series of narratives drawn up for the amusement of his friends in Paris. There are few more instructive pictures of the old régime. Only thirteen years had passed since the conclusion of the wars of the Fronde. The province was one of the most disturbed in France. It remained peculiarly rude and barbarous down to the Revolution, and, at the time when Fléchier went thither, it had become so disorderly that the sharpest justice, not to say great cruelty, was thought necessary to bring it into subjection to the royal authority. The gay Abbé thought of nothing less than of instructing posterity. He only wished to make himself agreeable to Madame de Caumartin and her circle, but his book remains a most curious monument of the past.

The long article on the Memoirs of Saint-Simon has equal merit with that which we have been considering, and merit of the same kind. It is finely appreciative, and delightfully written. One or two pages—those, for example, in which the political reforms contemplated by Saint-Simon are discussed,—might belong to a writer of a higher order of thought than M. Sainte-Beuve. We see, as we have already hinted, that with this fifteenth volume the "Causeries du Lundi" are apparently intended to come to an end. We trust that they may revive in a new form. M. Sainte-Beuve amuses and instructs us, whatever we may think of his principles.

NABATHÆAN AGRICULTURE.*

THE supposed remains of Nabathæan literature have occasioned the most curious controversy in which the Semitic scholars of our day have engaged. The subject is so well suited to the taste for generalizations which characterizes what we may term the popular school of philology that it has already occupied the attention of two of its leaders. It had not been long started by Dr. Chwolson, when it was thought by M. Renan worthy of discussion in an essay, which is now before us in an English translation, and which in the original called forth a review in the *Times* unmistakably by the scholar who holds the same position among Iranian philologists that M. Renan fills among Semitic. Curious as is this subject, it seems to us to have received undue attention, when many more profitable matters are left unexamined. It is a loss to science that many able scholars devote themselves almost wholly to questions of this nature. M. Renan, some years since, published the interesting introductory volume of his account of the Semitic languages; he still pauses before giving the world the grammatical portion, and the dissatisfied already predict that it will never appear. We have the theories, but we wait for the facts. M. Renan does not stand alone. Philologists are increasingly following the same course, and we tremble to think how insecure their science will become when the workers at facts have been wholly succeeded by the manipulators of theories. In Semitic scholarship the groundwork was laid by such men as Gesenius and De Sacy. No one but Lane treads in their steps, and his Arabic Lexicon will do more to advance the real knowledge of the Semitic languages than all those speculations as to primitive Hebrew to which Fürst (otherwise well deserving in the field of practical work), Delitzsch, Dietrich, and Bötticher, have given a temporary fame that must perish when they are overthrown, as they will be, by the facts of cuneiform discovery. A thorough grounding in the literature of any Semitic language would have prevented Dr. Chwolson from constructing a theory unwarranted by his facts, and we cannot but think that a limitation of his studies to Arabic literature,—in itself enough, as Fulgence Fresnel always declared, for one life,—would have enabled M. Renan to answer the theorist with more force and greater ease than he has done. All that we can do in

* An Essay on the Age and Antiquity of the Book of Nabathæan Agriculture; to which is added an Inaugural Lecture on the Position of the Semitic Nations in the History of Civilization. By M. Ernest Renan. 12mo. London: Trübner. 1862.

the present article is to state Dr. Chwolson's theory, M. Renan's chief points of reply, and our own reasons for coming to a conclusion similar to his. The subject has already been treated in several remarkable articles in our journals: first, in the *Christian Remembrancer*, by an English Hebraist well acquainted with the condition of modern research; next, in the *Saturday Review*, by a young Semitic scholar in this country, who differs from the other critics in accepting far too readily Dr. Chwolson's conclusions; and, most recently, in a review, more interesting than valuable, of M. Renan's essay, in the *Times*, which, as we have already hinted, is attributed to a great Iranian scholar, whose interest in the career of the French professor is as well known as his sympathy for the direction of his studies is natural. In these articles, as well as in M. Renan's essay, the writers have mainly argued upon Dr. Chwolson's facts and theories, without sufficiently considering what light Semitic literature throws upon the former, and, as a consequence, how far it admits the latter.

But who, the reader may ask, are the Nabathæans? A natural question, not easy to answer, for there is not a harder nut, save perhaps the Sinaitic character, in Arabian archæology. It was formerly supposed that this nation, known to us through the classical historians as the successors of the Edomites, were of Abrahamic origin, descendants of Nebaioth, the eldest son of Ishmael. That the names are the same can scarcely be doubted, especially as Isaiah speaks of Nebaioth as a tribe or nation, with Kedar, unmistakably designating Arabs, and also the name of a son of Ishmael. Arab kings who struck money at Petra in the first and second centuries B.C., moreover, on their coins take the title *Melch Nabat*, "King of Nabat." But Arabic literature shows that after the Christian era the name Nabat was applied to a supposed Chaldaean nation, and it has therefore been inferred that the Nabathæans of Arabia Petraea were of Chaldaean origin. This theory, which is due to M. Quatremère, cannot be here discussed, but it must be observed that, in the Bible, Nebaioth is perhaps territorial, as Sheba, Dedan, &c., seem to be, and that the connection of the primitive populations of Babylonia and Arabia is probably very close. Here we are concerned only with the supposed Chaldaean Nabathæans.

Dr. Chwolson did not discover the "Book of Nabathæan Agriculture." It was already known in the Middle Ages, being mentioned by Thomas Aquinas and by Maimonides, and in our own times it was brought into more notice by M. Quatremère, who assigned it to the latest period of Babylonian independence, before the conquest by Cyrus. Dr. Chwolson has followed in the steps of the learned Frenchman, and carried the same ideas to far greater lengths. His arguments may be thus briefly stated:—

The "Book of Nabathæan Agriculture" purports to be a translation, executed about the year 900 of the Christian era, of a very ancient document. Ibn Wâhsheeya, El-Kasdânee, or the Chaldaean, a member of a family which had not long embraced El-Islâm, having acquired, as he states, a large collection of Nabathæan writings, occupied himself in their translation. Of this library three complete works—"The Book of Nabathæan Agriculture," "The Book of Poisons," and "The Book of Tenkeloosha El-Bâbilee," as well as fragments of a fourth, "The Book of the Secrets of the Sun and Moon,"—yet remain, but of them the first is incomparably the most curious. It is stated to have been written by a Chaldaean called Koothâmee, who himself quotes yet earlier works, and it contains numerous digressions abounding in what purport to be historical data.

In endeavouring to fix the date of the "Book of Nabathæan Agriculture," Dr. Chwolson lays great stress upon the absence of any mention of Christianity, or of the rule of the dynasties of Seleucus, Arsaces, and Sassan. He remarks that, of the twenty Babylonian kings there mentioned, not one is found in a known list (of authority), and having, by a very ingenious argument on this negative evidence, placed Koothâmee, not later than B.C. 1300, he boldly advances from that starting-point, and arranges Koothâmee's authorities until he reaches an antiquity at which sober criticism is fairly bewildered. For these earlier writers he requires a period of no less than three thousand years of civilization, and it is not at all surprising that we find Adam, under the name of Adâmee, in this age, though not at its commencement. Before this time, Dr. Chwolson perceives indications of a yet earlier state of society, where, however, even he acknowledges himself to be unable to see clearly through the mists of fabulous antiquity.

To these theories there are certain external objections that a knowledge of Semitic literature instantly suggests. The preservation of this succession of writings is unlikely to the last degree, and their value, if diluted by a double transcription or still worse epitomizing, would have been reduced almost to nothing. The preservation of the knowledge of a written character through so many centuries is extremely unlikely. It is with these difficulties that the French professor starts, but he rests mainly upon the peculiar indications that the work itself affords. The occurrence of Greek words, the mention of Antioch on the Orontes, the references to the ancient Greeks as a nation, the indications of the use of Greek writers not earlier than Theophrastus, the similarity of many supposed historical statements to late Eastern legends, and the artificial nature of the work in style and contents, all point, in his opinion, to an age much later than that proposed by Dr. Chwolson, and forbid us to place the origin of the "Book of Nabathæan Agriculture" before the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. This argument is developed by a minute and curious criticism, to which Dr. Chwolson's anticipatory replies, that certain words or passages are interpolations, and that on many points a want of evidence forbids dogmatism, are fairly stated, but scarcely rebutted as thoroughly as might be reasonably required.

It seems to us that a careful study of Arabic historical literature suggests a more convincing reply. If, for instance, we take any Arabic work purporting to give a full history of Egypt, we find the earlier portion to consist of fragments of some genuine account enwrapped in the most extraordinary dress of fable. In reading the "Khitat" of El-Makreezee, and more than one of the works of Es-Suyootee, you are constantly struck by the occurrence of the name of some Pharaoh, traceable in Manetho's list, and are immediately disappointed to find nothing related of him but the most puerile fables. The Copts are constantly appealed to, and if we compare what is said with the remains of Manetho, or the accounts borrowed from him, and distorted by the later chronographers, as Malala and Cedrenus, we must conclude, notwithstanding that nothing of the kind has, as far as we know, been preserved in the midst of the intensely ecclesiastical literature of the

Copts, that there was if not a written, at least an oral, outline of Egyptian history among the natives for some centuries after the Arab conquest. A future Chwolson may trace this outline, and startle the world with periods as vast and personages as important as those derived from Koothâmee and Ibn Wâhsheeya.

Of course we cannot expect an identity of character in the remains that have come down to us in Arabic of the literature or traditions of the Nabathæans and the Copts, but a strong resemblance is evident not only in form but in matter, and we can clearly trace in their tone of thought the influence of the Muslim conquerors. In each case we must discard the idea of historical recreations than serious studies. With this view, we may remark that the Book of Nabathæan Agriculture shows indications of older correct information than M. Renan would admit, or at least of correct information as to a period far earlier than the date of Ibn-Wâhsheeya. Among the kings mentioned by Ibn-Wâhsheeya are Noomrooda and Sooseekya. In the Egyptian twenty-second dynasty we find Sheshenk as a name of kings, and Neemrut, of princes, the former corresponding to the Shishak of the Bible, as well as other names equally indicating the Babylonian or like origin of this line. The name Sheshak applied to Babylon, occurs in Jeremiah, and is one of two instances in that prophet where it has been supposed, as by M. Renan in this essay (p. 80) and Mr. Plumptre in the article "Jeremiah" in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," that a kind of cabalistic writing, by the substitution of letters called "Atbash," has been employed. The discovery of Shishak in Egyptian history among Babylonian names may well shake this idea, however fortified by the genius of Jerome, which too often delighted in fanciful explanations. The occurrence together of Nimrod and Shishak, in the "Book of Nabathæan Agriculture," is too remarkable to be an accident, and we are therefore unwilling to admit M. Renan's conjecture that the work of Ibn-Wâhsheeya is an ancient fraud, though scarcely doubting the milder form in which he puts the accusation when he adds that some degree of bad faith is to be traced.

Like M. Renan, we wait the publication of the remains of Nabathæan literature, but we do so with a certain conviction that they will only add to the mountain of spurious history which is the opprobrium of the noble literature of the Arabs. We scarcely expect that they will even prove whether the traces they contain of older ideas are due to oral or to written tradition, but we are quite sure of a fresh growth of controversy upon a question which has this great advantage, that it can never be settled.

The famous Inaugural-Lecture, which led to M. Renan's suspension, is extremely characteristic of its author. It shows, in their strongest form, all the tendencies of his mind, and most of all that love of generalization by which he shapes a Procrustean bed of theories for the subsequent torture of his facts. He repeats his theory of Semitic religion, insisting upon the monotheism of the race, in spite of the monstrous polytheism of Pagan Arabia, and of the not less polytheistic religions of ancient Libya, and of the Phœnicians everywhere. This is not the way to win truth. Many of these generalizations may be true, but when they are laid down, without an approach to an inductive basis, as fixed principles, knowledge is crystallized, and progress becomes impossible. The form is, indeed, beautiful, but the matter is often falsified by this very beauty of the form, when the delicate refinements of criticism are sacrificed to the necessities of declamatory expression.

The translator has produced an elegant, though occasionally not perfectly correct, rendering of M. Renan's admirable French; but we must caution the reader against placing too much dependance upon the minute details, which are often distressingly faulty through an insufficient scholarship or unacquaintance with the correction of the press.

ÉCONOMISTES MODERNES.*

[SECOND NOTICE.]

WE return to the consideration of the remaining essays of M. Reybaud's volume, and foremost amongst them to that on M. Michel Chevalier.

Rather more than thirty years ago, a remarkable society attracted attention at Paris. Mr. Maurice, in his last work, has spoken of it with that unconscious epigram which not seldom flashes across his pages. "Visions," he says, "of a universal Church and a universal Bank rose together before the St. Simonians." The founder of the society, Saint-Simon, anticipated Mr. Ruskin in confounding political economy and theology. At the age of nineteen he had submitted to the Viceroy of Mexico a memoir on the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across the Isthmus of Panama. A little later he served in the war of American Independence, and at twenty-three was a colonel under Washington. But, as he has told us, war was of no interest to him by itself; his care was spent on the progress of humanity, the fulfilment of civilization. The grandson of the pattern-courtier of Louis XIV. devoted himself to the recasting of society into a fashion which to his ancestor would have been wholly unintelligible: the world was to be henceforth governed by an economic-theological hierarchy, in which the high places were reserved for the directors of industry and the masters of thought. But though "La Réorganisation de la Société Européenne," "L'Industrie," "Le Système Industriel," "Le Nouveau Christianisme," &c. &c. attested his industry, his converts were few. He died in 1825, in the presence of his chosen disciples, amongst whom were MM. Auguste Comte and Olinde Rodrigues: his last words express the idea of his life. "Religion cannot vanish from the world, it can only be transformed. Rodrigues, do not forget! Remember that to do great deeds we must be great-hearted. . . . All my life is summed up in a single thought,—the assurance to all men of the free development of their powers."

Three or four years passed before the St. Simonians gained much increase in numbers: Auguste Comte, indeed, deserted the body, but MM. Rodrigues, Bazard, Enfantin, and others persevered, and presently opened a school in the Rue Taranne, in which lectures were delivered on the St. Simonian faith. Amongst the scholars attracted by their teaching were several students of the Polytechnique, one of whom was M. Michel Chevalier. Born at Limoges

* *Économistes Modernes*. Par Louis Reybaud. Paris: Michel Lévy, Frères. 1862. London: Williams & Norgate.

in 1806, the young student had already distinguished himself in the exact sciences, and was about to commence life as an engineer of the mines in the department of the Nord. We may believe that the economic side of St. Simonianism seduced him: the visions of free trade, of unshackled industry, of a society where each man and nation was occupied in the work for which he or they were most suited, of the consequent interchange of products obtained in the greatest abundance and with the least labour, intoxicated him. When, after the revolution of July, the St. Simonians became possessed of a newspaper, *Le Globe*, M. Chevalier was an active contributor to it, and predicted in its pages the realization of his magnificent dreams. The promise of the future was, however, insufficient to support the pressure of the present, and the *Globe* was suppressed for want of funds. A little later appeared the *Livre Nouveau*, with an addition of an epical character, called the new *Genesis*, which was attributed to M. Chevalier. It is difficult to convey to an English reader an accurate notion of this work. By carefully selecting two or three extracts, and by bringing to the interpretation of them the narrowest conceptions of our own experience, the "Genesis" might be made to appear simply blasphemous, having as a possible apology the insanity of the author. In truth, it is the work of a man perfectly sane and pious, narrating, in a strain of extreme generalization, the material history of the world. It opens in this manner:—

"Listen!

"I have seen in the night of antiquity marvellous things.

"The Earth said to God in whose bosom it moved, 'Will the well-beloved come soon?'

"God answered, 'I shall not yet call him, for thou hast no tree that he may rest beneath its shade; thou hast no beast that he may be nourished by its milk and its flesh. The air which like a garment enfolds thee is burning.

"What hast thou to give him that he may rejoice? He seeks fresh springs where he may renew his strength, and I see only pools of foul and bitter water. Where are the fields and the riches that shall be his heritage?"

From this formless and waste condition the progress of the world through the ages of geology proceeds; step by step the history advances till the author rises into rapture over the discovery of the continent of the west and the isles of the south. His vision rests on the interchange between the North and the South, which he prefigures under the similitude of the marriage of three couples—Europe and Africa, North and South America, Asia and Australasia,—whose bridal beds are the Mediterranean, the West Indian Archipelago, and the bays of China and of Ind.

The remaining passages of M. Chevalier's history as a St. Simonian are few; we have dwelt so much on this part of his career because we believe it explains much of his subsequent life; the anticipations of his youth have never deserted him, nor perhaps is he wholly free from his early faith in the force of external power in compelling the ends which he desires. The singular article two months since, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the Mexican expedition, is explained when we recall the dreams of thirty years ago. In the latter part of 1832, MM. Enfantin, Chevalier, and other members of the St. Simonian Society were indicted for attacks on public morality. They were found guilty and condemned to different terms of imprisonment, the sentence on M. Chevalier being imprisonment for one year. M. Chevalier has been so much amongst us this summer that his appearance must be familiar to many of our readers. Even those who have not seen him may be acquainted with the photograph representing him seated at a table between Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. A state prisoner of any kind is with us a creature so completely unknown, much less a state prisoner whose offence has been simply the publication of certain opinions on society, that those who remembered M. Chevalier's early history must have looked on him with considerable curiosity. It was perhaps difficult to realize the fact that the quiet man before us had ever been regarded as formidable, though the high, narrow forehead might betoken a spirit capable of thrusting a sound principle to unwarrantable limits—to results which could only be legitimate were the principle acting alone instead of being one of a system of forces.

M. Chevalier did not remain in prison the whole of the year; some letters which he addressed from his confinement to the *Journal des Débats* perhaps showed some of the corrective influence of quiet thought, but certainly convinced the Minister that better use might be made of this active thinker. He was released after six months, and soon sent to North America on an inquiry into its material condition. His labours, supplementing those of M. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville, were exhibited in two volumes of Letters on North America, and in a later work on the "Means of Communication in the United States;" a third work on Spanish America, some fragments of which had appeared in the *Débats*, was announced, but was never published. All these books, like his next and most popular work on the "Material Interests of France" (its public works, roads, canals, railways, &c.), exhibit the results of his early training as an engineer, and the industrial side of his St. Simonianism. They treat of the facilitation of manufactures and exchanges, the question how anything desired may be made most easily and conveyed most cheaply to the person desiring it. In 1840 M. Chevalier succeeded Rossi as Professor of Political Economy in the College of France, and in 1845 he was for a few months a Deputy. The Revolution of 1848 deprived him of his chair, and he joined Bastiat in his strenuous fight against Socialism. He early gave his support to the Prince-President, who restored him to his professorship. In 1857 there appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* several articles by him on the Probable Fall in the Value of Gold, which have since been collected and republished with considerable additions; this work is familiar to English readers through Mr. Cobden's translation. The views of M. Chevalier on this subject were much opposed by some French writers, nor have they been universally accepted in this country. His book may be divided into two parts, the first an investigation whether the value of gold is likely to fall, and the second what action (if any) the State should take if a fall be probable. We should have thought the position that gold must decline in value in consequence of the new discoveries incontestable, had it not been contested; as it is it seems sufficient to note the fact without examining the arguments on the other side; it must, however, be remarked that the fall was only predicted *cateris paribus*; perceptible as it in truth is already, it is not so great as was anticipated, in consequence of the unexpected demand for silver in the East,—a demand in no other way connected with the gold discoveries than that it has happened about the same time. But though the fall is to be looked upon as

inevitable, we are nearly agreed in England to abstain from any legislative action to avert its consequences. The function of the Government seems determined when it has stamped with a certificate of weight and fineness the pieces of metal used as currency; it would seem that the depreciation of the existing coinage cannot fall more justly than upon those who are holders of it, and in contracts spreading over a considerable time, the contracting parties can always agree that payments shall be made to depend upon any standard of value.

M. Chevalier's share in the commercial treaty has been already noticed in this review; disliked as this treaty undoubtedly was by a large party in France, M. Chevalier may confidently assure himself that the gratitude of the next generation will place him high amongst the benefactors of his country, and we may hope that the years before him will add to his claims upon it.

M. Reybaud's essay upon Mr. Mill deserves careful consideration from us, as he ventures to criticise freely the opinions of one to whom we in England have attributed almost Papal authority. The remarkable candour, which is perhaps Mr. Mill's most striking quality, inspires confidence in those who follow his reasoning; they are satisfied that he has considered every argument which can be brought to bear upon a subject, and they accept his conclusions as decisive. The craving after absolute authority appears to be in most men indestructible, and it must be a matter of pain to all original men to find that the courageous freedom of inquiry, which is the source of their strength, is so little adapted by their followers; results are accepted, whilst the method is disregarded. A generation which receives with complacency a damnable criticism on the logic of St. Paul, cannot tolerate any dissent from the conclusions of Mr. Mill.

Mr. Mill's candour is the more impressive, because it is so evidently the result of extreme conscientiousness; it is manifested in a painstaking desire to ascertain the grounds upon which any conclusion has been honestly adopted. If it be not a mark of genius, it is the closest approximation to the endowment to which we give that name. But if we compare it with genius in its highest form, in which therefore its characteristics are most apparent, we shall at once feel the essential distinction between them. In Shakespeare we find what might at first be called candour; he sympathised with every form of life, in the strictest sense he understood every kind of character. Here we are aware there is no effort; the quality was not acquired by conscientious labour, but was a natural gift,—in a word, is genius. The distinction is analogous to what was once said of two men, the one was good, the other did good. The limitations of Mr. Mill's candour define his position as a political economist. In his great work we find little or nothing new which he has added to the science, but every authority has been carefully examined. If Mr. Mill adheres to Ricardo, he has not disdained to read Carey; he is just to Communists, as well as to the upholders of property; he may arrive at erroneous opinions on the currency, but he has anxiously studied Lord Overstone as well as Mr. Tooke, Col. Torrens and Mr. Fullarton.

We have already mentioned that M. Reybaud blames Mr. Mill for the way in which he speaks of Socialists; a second cause of complaint is found in his language on Protectionism. It may be remembered that Mr. Mill says, "the only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation), in hopes of naturalizing a foreign industry, in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country." The dangerous nature of the exception is evident; it would strictly cover a great part, and could be stretched to embrace nearly all the protective duties that have ever existed. M. Reybaud says, it expresses the arguments of his Protectionist countrymen; it seems possible that Mr. Mill was, at the time he wrote, thinking of the New England States, so completely does his language apply to the protective duties in favour of their manufactures. The objections to the exception are those which apply to all Protection. Mr. Mill's argument in its favour is, that individuals will never run the risk of introducing a new manufacture—a statement of fact on which we should most confidently join issue with him.

Two questions on which M. Reybaud is opposed to the teaching of Mr. Mill, are the Malthusian theory of population and Ricardo's theory of rent. These two doctrines appear to be rejected by almost all French economists; not seldom, perhaps, because they have been improperly expressed on the one side, and imperfectly understood on the other. Absolutely true as we believe Mr. Malthus's theorem to be, the statement of it is continually clouded with false applications, and its practical value as explaining the condition of our labourers has probably been much over-rated. Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent again is rarely reduced to its proper position in the theory of value; it is generally presented as altogether exceptional in kind. Mr. Mill's work is to us least satisfactory in its relation to the labours of his predecessors. Mr. Ricardo's discoveries, for example, are, of course, adopted; but they appear in the unfinished form in which they were left by that subtle thinker. It would seem that Ricardo, having seized on some unsolved problem for study, analyzed its conditions, and forthwith applied the method of economic science to its solution. Having arrived at it, he never cared to examine all that was involved in his results; he had accomplished the task he had undertaken, and did not examine what more he had discovered. The question of foreign trade, for example, was, as Mr. Mill somewhere says, in hopeless confusion until Mr. Ricardo showed that international trade depended not on a difference in the absolute, but on a difference in the relative cost of production. The solution is completely true, and Mr. Ricardo was content; but it seems strange that an intelligent expositor of the doctrine should not have been staggered at an economical theorem being made dependent on the arbitrary divisions of states. A little reflection will serve to show that the doctrine is equally applicable to home trade and, indeed, to the interchange of services between individuals. A great physician may excel as a locksmith the most expert in the trade, but whilst his relative excellence as a physician is greater he will not change his employment. The phenomena of rent, again, occur with greater or less prominence in every case of production, for they depend solely on the assumption that a service cannot be indefinitely multiplied at the same cost; and that this is always true is apparent, when we remember that every service must involve the transfer of some material product or the action of some intelligent agent, or both, and that products and agents are limited in supply and

variable in quality. The difference between the wages paid to a confidential clerk and an errand-boy is explained by the same theory as the difference of rent between soils fertile or accessible and those wanting these qualities. M. Reybaud's language with reference to another part of Mr. Mill's work may be applied to his statement of the theory of rent—"C'est du Ricardo respectueusement reproduit."

We might note other parts of Mr. Mill's volumes which appear to us imperfect or erroneous, but it is a more grateful task to join M. Reybaud in admiration of the serious spirit in which they are written. Every man now thinks it his duty to know something of Political Economy, and we must rejoice that the acknowledged text-book of the science displays such judicial impartiality.

Our limits forbid our dwelling on the other portraits in M. Reybaud's gallery; they will, however, repay those who make their acquaintance. Rossi's tragical end by a Roman assassin's dagger gives an interest to his life, which might otherwise be wanting, whilst the early struggles and too early death of Leon Faucher cannot but claim the sympathy of the reader. Faucher's career exhibits, very strongly, the simple, unselfish aims which appear to belong to all the great economists. It might seem remarkable that a science which has been called the science of pure selfishness should be cultivated by such men; but Ricardo is, perhaps, the only economist who achieved the English heaven of making a fortune,—and the exception proves the rule, for, instead of yielding to a growing lust for money, he retired from the Stock Exchange when little more than forty.

ART AND MUSIC.

HERR SCHACHNER'S ORATORIO AT EXETER HALL.

THE production of a new oratorio by a German composer, almost unknown in this country, is a thing of very rare occurrence. It is true that works of that kind are not written every day; but even if they were, the difficulty would still remain how and where to produce them. The Sacred Harmonic Society shuts its doors against all new comers, and neither adopts nor cares to hear untried sacred compositions. Mr. Hullah, late of St. Martin's Hall, was the only one who held out a helping-hand to young and deserving composers, either English or foreign; but since his concerts have ceased to exist, there is no longer any chance left them to bring their works before the world. Under these circumstances, aspiring and ambitious authors are abandoned to their fate, and must content themselves with playing certain portions of their work to sympathising friends, or try to hunt up the means of producing their labour without incurring the risk of ruining themselves. And, indeed, it may be said that to have a new oratorio performed in London, with full orchestra and chorus in a large hall, is a very costly pleasure. Of late, however, several composers have hit upon the plan of giving their performances "for charitable purposes," thereby at once enlisting public favour, drawing the attention of the world to their work, and securing themselves against pecuniary loss. Their example has been followed by Herr Joseph Rudolph Schachner, a musician for many years resident in this country, and favourably known in the land of his birth. His new oratorio—new to England, although performed some time since, we believe, with much success in Germany—entitled "Israel's Return from Babylon," was given, for the first time, at Exeter Hall on Wednesday last, under the direction of Mr. Alfred Mellon, in behalf of the "British Columbia Female Emigration Society." The work is divided into four parts, viz., "The Captivity," "The Deliverance," "Reconciliation and Return to Zion," and the "Promise and Song of Praise," the words being adapted from Holy Scripture, the poetry from Moore's sacred songs. Considering that the book is almost entirely made up of Moore's exquisite lyrics,—the words from Holy Scripture merely serving as a link to the text,—and consequently possessing no historic plot, nor being capable of dramatic development, the work can hardly be called an oratorio in the strict sense of the word, although in its treatment it may partake of that character. "Israel's Return from Babylon" is rather a "sacred musical poem," in which light we fancy it has also been viewed by the composer, at least if we are to judge from the not very orthodox adherence to the style of sacred writing.

There is undoubtedly much to admire in Herr Schachner's composition. The author shows throughout great earnestness of purpose and considerable power of treatment. We cannot say that the work is marked by any striking originality, great inventive faculty, or remarkable melodic inspiration, but that the composer possesses the means of well expressing his ideas, and has the power of developing these ideas with much clearness and tact, is unquestionable. Each of the four parts contains many beautiful pieces, although the second and third are, to our mind, the best, as well as the most varied in interest. It is, of course, impossible after a first hearing to enter minutely into the details of every piece; we must, therefore, for the present content ourselves with signaling a few which appeared to us the most worthy of remark. The orchestral prelude, commencing immediately after the words, "Fallen is thy throne, O Israel," declaimed by Madame Laura Baxter, is somewhat vague in idea—a vagueness chiefly resulting from the want of a clearly defined subject. This we find generally to be the case in the orchestral portions of the work, the choruses being far more marked in design and more characteristic in form. As an example, we may at once cite the concluding chorus of the first part, "War against Babylon," which is well conceived and powerfully wrought out.

One of the best pieces in the second part ("Deliverance") is the chorus,—

"Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea!
Jehovah has triumph'd, His people are free!"

being built upon a broad plan, vigorously worked out, and written in the true spirit of the words. A solo, forming part of this chorus, and beginning "Praise to the Conqueror, praise to the Lord!" is likewise to be commended for its noble character and breadth of style. It was splendidly sung by Mdlle. Tietjens, whose voice is so well suited to music of this description. Immediately following this chorus and solo comes a duet for tenor and bass, beautifully rendered by

Mr. Sims Reeves and Mr. Weiss, and sung with much feeling, truth, and refinement. The greatest effect, however, in this part was created by the quartet and chorus, "So when the dread clouds of anger enfold thee." Here the composer displays much poetic sentiment, and proves himself quite equal to the subject. The female voices, however, are occasionally somewhat severely taxed, and not unfrequently have to go up to A and B flat, which, for a large chorus, is no easy task. Both the chorus and the quartet—supported by Mdlle. Tietjens, Madame Laura Baxter, Mr. Sims Reeves, and Mr. Weiss—were sung to perfection, and called forth the most unbounded applause.

From this point up to the end all is really good music. Here and there a certain dulness is perceptible in some of the solos, from want of colour and definite aim, as, for instance, in the air sung by Mr. Weiss, "Awake, arise, and shine!" which is far too long, and without sufficient interest. We must not forget to notice a very pretty and graceful duet, in form of a "canon," "Hark! 'tis the breeze," one of the most charming pieces in the oratorio, and so admirably given by Mdlle. Tietjens and Mr. Sims Reeves, that it was unanimously *encored*. Hitherto the composer had abstained from displaying his contrapuntal knowledge, and the first proof we have of his musical learning occurs in the chorus, "Go forth to the Mount," a kind of *fugato* being introduced with good effect towards the end of the chorus, which is among the best pieces in the work. Better still even is the chorus with which the third part terminates, "Put on Thy strength, O Zion!" the solo parts being sustained by the four singers already mentioned, while the whole, supported by the chorus, orchestra, and organ, produces a most powerful effect. In our opinion, this is the most ingenious, the freshest, and the most spirited number of the oratorio. The fourth part is the shortest, and the least ambitious of the four. Nothing remarkable strikes the ear, with the exception, perhaps, of a recitative for Mr. Sims Reeves, and an air for Mdlle. Tietjens, with harp accompaniment, both clever specimens of writing, but not free from monotony. A grand and imposing chorus, "Praise to the Lord," brings the whole to a brilliant close.

Thus much for our first impression of Herr Schachner's oratorio. If it cannot be called a great, it certainly is a very clever work, full of excellent ideas, and containing some beautiful points. As we have said, the great drawback is the want of interest in the book. There is no defined subject, no dramatic action. All is arranged according to the fancy of the author. An air might just as well be a duet, a duet a trio, and a trio a quartet. There is no reason whatever why five people should not sing the music given to two, nor do we clearly perceive why a tenor and a bass should join in a duet, in preference to a soprano and contralto. The singers do not represent given characters in the story, and consequently fail in creating any real interest.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the performance. The greatest credit is due to Mr. Alfred Mellon, and the performers under his direction. We have seldom heard the chorus sing with greater nerve, force, and precision, while the orchestra, made up of the best materials, was fully up to the mark. The oratorio was warmly applauded throughout by a most attentive and appreciating audience, who, at the conclusion of the work, loudly called for the composer. Herr Schachner, in obedience to the enthusiastic summons, then presented himself to receive the well-deserved distinction. Mr. Mellon also came in for a share of the honours, but modestly declined the compliment offered him.

CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE.

THE MANUFACTURE OF SODA AND POTASH.—The manufacture of soda has attained colossal proportions of late years, but that of the sister alkali, potash, still remains to be developed. This is not because soda is capable of superseding potash in all its applications, for there are many branches of chemical manufacture in which potash is absolutely necessary; but it arises from the fact that soda is presented to us by nature in a more readily convertible form. The great reservoir of soda is the sea, whilst the primitive rocks are the natural source of potash. Sea-plants absorb soda as land plants absorb potash from the soil; and formerly each of these alkalies was obtained for commerce by burning the respective plants, and lixiviating their ashes. The progress of chemical science has, long ago, substituted for this expensive and roundabout method of obtaining soda, the beautified process of which we gave an outline a few weeks ago; but the trees of the primæval forests are burnt, and their ashes extracted with water to this day, in order to obtain carbonate of potash. It was natural that soda should be manufactured direct from common salt long before potash was obtained direct from the primitive rocks. For common salt is a substance readily acted upon by chemical agents, easily fusible in the fire, and perfectly soluble in water; whereas felspar and granite, the mineral sources of potash, are in the highest degree intractable, unacted upon by the strongest acids, as well as infusible under the most intense white heat. Many attempts have been made to set the potash at liberty from these stubborn rocks; but although they have been devised by skilful chemists, they have uniformly proved too expensive or uncertain in their results for adoption on the large scale. A new process for extracting potash from the primitive rocks has lately been proposed by Mr. E. O. Ward, and is illustrated in the International Exhibition. He makes use of the powerful agency of fluorine introduced in the form of fluor spar. The felspar, or other natural alkaliferous silicate, is finely powdered and mixed with powdered fluor spar and lime, together with a little chalk. The whole is then mixed up with water into lumps, which are allowed to dry and are heated to redness for about an hour or so, when the mass will be found to have become slightly fused together. It is next allowed to cool, and then boiled with water, which in half an hour, or less, dissolves out the whole of the alkali previously existing in the felspar. The alkaline liquid thus obtained usually holds in solution a proportion of silica or alumina, but it contains no ingredient not readily separable by lime; so that caustic or carbonated potash may be obtained at the operator's choice by the usual means. The exhausted frit contains, of course, the silica and alumina

of the felspar, with any lime, or magnesia, or other earthy bases it may contain, as also the whole of the added earthy base. This process has been worked out by Mr. Ward conjointly with Captain Wynants. Laboratory experiments have shown that the extraction of the whole of the alkali is readily effected, beyond which point progress is impossible. In operating on larger quantities, nearly nine-tenths of the whole alkaline contents have been obtained, and works are now about to be erected for carrying out the manufacture on a large scale.

The residuum of the extraction of the frit by water is not a waste product like that of the soda process. According to theory it only needs recalcination to drive off water and carbonic acid in order to possess the exact composition of hydraulic cement. Even the traces of alkali remaining unwashed from the frit are of use, such traces being essential in every hydraulic cement to facilitate the solution of the silica and alumina in the water with which the cement is mixed up in use, and thus to promote their combination with the lime. The residuum of the new process has, however, been found to be but imperfectly adapted as a cement, owing to the presence of the fluorine, and ordinary Roman and Portland cements experimentally calcined with a little pulverised fluor spar were found to undergo similar deterioration. This fault, it is expected, may be corrected by calcining the washed frit in a current of steam, which will carry off the fluorine as hydro-fluosilicic acid. In its present state, however, it is available for many building purposes, and need not, like the residuum of the soda process, accumulate in piles around the works.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SECOND SCIENTIFIC BALLOON ASCENT.

To the Editor of "The London Review."

SIR,—Mr. Coxwell having planned an ascent, on Wednesday, July 30th, from the Crystal Palace, with his large balloon, I availed myself of the offer of a seat in the car for the purpose of taking a series of observations upon the variations of temperature and the several hygrometrical states of the atmosphere at moderate elevations, and which I had failed to do in my recent ascent from Wolverhampton.

The instruments necessary for these investigations were in the hands of Messrs. Negretti and Zambra, and were those which were broken and injured in my recent ascent in the same balloon, and confided to them for renewal and repair, and which they had executed in a very satisfactory manner, these gentlemen having at all times expressed an earnest desire to promote the experiments required by the British Association.

All the other instruments are at Wolverhampton, ready for the next high ascents.

The instruments used on this occasion were two aneroid barometers, dry and wet-bulb thermometers, and a Daniell's dew-point hygrometer.

As it is of essential importance that the thermometers should be so sensitive that they readily acquire the temperature of the surrounding air, they were of necessity very delicate. The air was in very gentle motion, which enabled Messrs. Negretti and Zambra carefully to fix the instruments before starting, so that I at once began to observe, which I was unable to do in my recent ascent till I was nearly a mile high.

The balloon left the earth at 4h. 40m., laden with thirteen gentlemen, and a large amount of sand for ballast; and under the influence of a moderate breeze, bore away slowly nearly S.E., passing successively Eltham, Dartford, to the village of Singlewell, near Gravesend. The heights the balloon successively attained were as follows:—

At 4h. 43m. it had attained the elevation of 1,340 feet above the level of the sea; at 4h. 49m. it was 3,700 feet, increased slowly, till at 5h. 17m. it was about 5,300 feet; it then, by 5h. 20m., fell 200 feet; on throwing out sand, it rose to 5,500 feet by 5h. 24m., and to 6,600 feet by 5h. 43m.; some gas was let out, and it sunk to 5,700 feet by 5h. 47m.; some sand was thrown out, and it rose to 7,350 feet, the highest point reached, at 6h. 1m.; at 6h. 6m. it fell to 6,700 feet; some sand was thrown out, and it rose to 7,100 feet by 6h. 12m.; at 20 m. past 6 it descended to 5,300 feet, and slowly to 2,100 feet by 6h. 25m.; and to the earth at a little after half-past six.

Between 4h. 46m. and 5h. 1m., the altitude and azimuth of the balloon were observed at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, by E. J. Stone, Esq., M.A.; if any similar observations have been taken at another place I should be glad to be favoured with them, as furnishing the means of an independent determination of the elevation of the balloon, and thus checking those made by means of the variations of temperature and barometric pressure.

The temperature of the air was 68° at the Crystal Palace; at 1,000 feet high it was 62°; at 3,700 feet it was 51°; continued at this reading nearly till the height of 4,500 feet was reached, at 5h. 4m.; varied between 48° and 50° till the height of 5,700 feet was reached; it decreased from 48° to 43½° between 5h. 31m. and 5h. 38m., the height at the latter time being 6,100 feet. At the height of 7,350 feet the temperature was 41°, being 27° lower than on the surface of the ground. After this, the temperature rose gradually as the balloon approached the earth, and was 47° at 6h. 20m.; 50° at 6h. 24m.; and 68° on reaching the ground.

The temperature of the dew-point, or that temperature at which the moisture in the air, in the invisible shape of vapour, is deposited as water upon the objects cooled down to this temperature, was successively as follows:

In the gardens of the Crystal Palace this deposit of water took place when the temperature of the bulb of the hygrometer was reduced by the action of ether to 50°, at the height of 1,300 feet the bulb was bedewed at 43°, between 3,000 and 4,500 feet at 40°; then up to 6,000 feet at temperatures gradually decreasing, at 7,500 feet at a little below 32°, and it afterwards increased to 47° on reaching the surface of the earth.

When the air is saturated with moisture, as in a wetting fog, the temperatures both of the air and dew-points are the same; on this occasion on the earth the

latter was 18° below the former, and at the highest elevation was 9°, so that the air was nowhere saturated.

From a knowledge of the temperature of the dew-point we know the amount of water then present in a certain mass of air; this amounted in the grounds of the Crystal Palace to 4 grains in a cubic foot of air, at 1,300 feet high to 3 grains, at 5,000 feet to about 2½ grains, and at 7,300 feet there were about 2 grains in a cubic foot of air.

As the amount of aqueous vapour in the air necessarily decreases with the temperature, the changes of the hygrometric condition of the air at different elevations may be better understood by speaking of the relative humidity of the atmosphere by considering air saturated with moisture as represented by 100, and air without moisture as represented by 0.

The humidity of the air thus expressed on the surface of the ground was 50, showing an unusual degree of dryness; it increased, as we left the earth, to 63 at 3,000 feet, to 66 at 4,000, and to 70 at 7,300; and the air became gradually less humid on approaching the earth. At no point, therefore, was complete saturation met with as before noticed.

The weight of a cubic foot of air varied from 526 grains on the ground to 429 grains at the greatest elevation reached.

Similar and simultaneous observations were taken at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, from which we learn that the temperature of the air on the surface of the ground varied from 67° to 68°; that of the dew-point from 49° to 51°; that there were about four grains of water in a cubic foot of air; the degree of humidity was about 50, and the weight of a cubic foot of air was 526 grains; therefore the differences at the high elevations from these values are due to the elevation alone.

Test ozone papers were not coloured at all, and no ozone was noticed in the ascent from Wolverhampton.

We were never in the clouds, although rocky cumuli (which it will be remembered are the fine massive clouds of day) were at a lower elevation, and cumulo-strati at a higher elevation than ourselves all around. The sky was free from clouds in the zenith, and of a deeper blue than as seen from the surface of the earth. At times there was a great mist, and generally the horizon was hazy and obscure. The shadow of the balloon was seen both on the ground and also on the surface of the cloud.

A horizontal magnet occupied a somewhat longer time to perform a certain number of vibrations, both in this as well as in the previous ascent, than it did on the surface of the earth. This is contrary to the results obtained by Gay-Lussac in 1804.

At 5h. 24m. a gun was heard with a sharp sound; at 5h. 25m. a drum was heard; at 5h. 26m. a band was heard; at 5h. 38m. a gun was heard; and at 6h. 10m. a dog barking was heard, and the working of the engines on the Dover and Chatham Railway was distinctly heard.

I have to thank W. F. Ingelow, Esq. for kindly reading one barometer for me, and for rendering considerable assistance in noticing the first appearance of dew on the black bulb of Daniell's hygrometer, enabling me thereby to greatly increase the number of my own observations.

The gas furnished must have been of good quality to have raised so great a weight to such an elevation.

The descent was managed by Mr. Coxwell so that no instrument was injured in the slightest degree; and, in fact, the approach to the earth was so gradual there was scarcely any need to steady oneself.

July 31, 1862.

JAMES GLAISHER.

SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENCE.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.—The most successful annual meeting ever held by this Institute has just terminated at Worcester. The attendance included upwards of 300 archaeologists from various parts of the kingdom; amongst them were Lord Lyttleton, Lord Neaves, Sir John Pakington, Viscount Campden, Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Earl of Enniskillen, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Charles Hastings, Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., Mr. Albert Way, Dr. Guest, the Rev. C. Hartshorne, Mr. Franks, and others of high rank and well-known scientific eminence. In a former number, previous to the assembling of the congress, we gave a programme of the work to be done. On the present occasion we can but give the briefest summary of those topics which may more particularly demand attention. After a most cordial reception from the Mayor, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, and the other authorities in the city, and the election of Lord Lyttleton to the presidency of the congress, the perambulation of the city was conducted by Mr. Severn Walker and the local secretaries. Amongst the buildings thus visited, the Commandry was one of the most interesting. It was originally an hospital for wayfaring men, founded by St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester. The hall—the only part except the commander's house which now remains—appears to have been used from time to time for various purposes. In 1300, Hugh le Despencer held a Foresters' Court in it, and imposed fines and punishment on the destroyers of the king's game. The date of the existing relics, Mr. Parker, who described them, thought to be not earlier than the time of Henry VII. The roof is very beautiful and perfect, and the minstrels' gallery and the canopy over the dais or high table both remain. Very numerous valuable papers were read at the evening and other meetings. One by Mr. Walker, "On the Ecclesiology of Worcestershire," was full of minute and interesting details. Worcestershire contains 252 churches and chapels, of which 157 remain more or less as they were produced by their Mediaeval builders; and all the principal of which had, in some way or other, their most interesting points noticed by the author. In the statistics of these various ancient structures, it was stated that in sixteen cases the high chancel-screen remained, the finest being at Shelsley Walsh, Little Malvern, Upton Snodsbury, and Bleckley. The screen at Sedgeberrow is of very unusual design, having painted boards instead of tracery. The rood-beams remain at Little Malvern and Shelsley Walsh. The only example of the ancient reredos is at Sedgeberrow. No original stone altar now remains in any church in the county, the one formerly at Bengeworth having been destroyed when the church was repewed, a few years since. Stone vaulting is very rare, the only cases being in the cathedral and at Pershore Abbey Church. The Rev. S. Lysons read an interesting paper, descriptive of an incident in the life of Henry VIII.

SUGAR-CANE WASTE FOR PAPER.—It is said that Mr. McFarlane, a stationer at Glasgow, has brought this subject under the attention of the Governor of Barbadoes. The statement made is that for every hundred tons of sugar made 2,200 tons of trash remain, the value of which for fuel is about a thousand pounds. Reckoning the cost of labour to fit it for the market, interest on capital employed, and freightage, &c., and adding a profit of £5,700, Mr. McFarlane estimates the delivery of 2,000 tons of pulp in London at £14,000—about £7 per ton, or less than half the price of rags; while an additional bonus of £7 per ton

THE PUMPING-ENGINES OF LONDON.—The quantity of water pumped up daily for the metropolis is 150 millions of gallons. Of this enormous quantity 79 millions are pumped by steam-engines. One of these engines when worked at full power throws 9,000 gallons per minute to the height of 140 feet, and the water it raises is conveyed in pipes a full yard in diameter. The cylinder of this engine is 9 feet 4 inches across, and weighs 36 tons.

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NOTICE.

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